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# THE GUARDIAN

Printed in London and Manchester

Monday May 27 1985

25p

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Syria holds the key to Beirut ceasefire hopes

## Shi'ites turn tanks on last PLO redoubts

From David Hirst in Beirut

The carnage which has turned the Palestinian quarters of Beirut into desolate battlefields inhabited only by the dead, the wounded, and dwindling bands of fighters continued yesterday.

Despite calls for ceasefires and attempts at mediation, Shi'ite soldiers of the Amal militia and of the Lebanese army's Sixth Brigade continued to pour fire, including tank shells, at the last PLO block redoubts of the Palestinians.

Red Cross vehicles attempting to enter the Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp were driven back by sniper fire, although from which side was not clear. Lebanese hospitals say that 245 people have died in the week of intense fighting in and around the three camps, but that there may be many more dead in the ruins.

At least 1,000 have been wounded and an estimated 25,000 have fled the camps to take refuge in areas controlled by the Druze militia, which has remained neutral in the fighting.

Crowded in buildings under Druze militia control, Palestinians who escaped the fighting said they believed that hundreds of wounded were trapped in the camps.

According to a Reuters report, many spoke of arbitrary killings of Palestinians in the camps. "All the Palestinian wounded must be dead by now," said a 35-year-old teacher who escaped from Sabra after he had been hit by a bullet in the chest.

He said he had helped to bury dead fighters in Sabra before he was wounded himself. All we could do with the injured was bury them," he said.

Amal men and troops barred reporters from the camps. Escorting one reporter out of the

centre of Chatila, an Amal militiaman said that what was happening in the camp "is our business, not yours. You can come back in a couple of days."

The Amal assault on the camps has come in for almost universal Arab condemnation, but there have been no tangible results so far from the various efforts at mediation and halting the fighting. President Amin Gemayel was said to be consulting yesterday with the Secretary-General of the Arab League, Chedi Khlifi, and there were reports that Yasser Arafat, now in Tunis for a special PLO meeting on the

IRAQ yesterday launched air raids and missile attacks on a number of Iranian cities in a new escalation of the Gulf War. Iran said its jets had attacked the Iraqi town of Al-Amarah in retaliation.

At least six people were reported killed in a pre-dawn air raid against Tehran, but Iran said it was too early to estimate the casualty toll from the missile attacks.

Report, page 4. Guerrillas step up South Lebanon attacks, page 4. Leader, comment, page 10.

crisis, had appealed to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia for help. The truth is that only Syria can stop this slaughter.

The question is whether it will permit the Shi'ites assuming that they are capable to complete what they have begun. That would probably make for a long and increasingly grisly siege, something like another Ta' Zaiwar, the refugee camp in Christian East Beirut which the Phalangists overran, with Syria back in 1976.

The Syrian master plan, in its broad, unfolding purpose, is clear enough. The "battle of the camps" is another landmark in President Hafez Assad's gradual, inexorable imposition of Pax Syria over a tormented land. What its final

shape will be—some kind of organic link between Syria and Lebanon, military occupation or a purely political tutelage—perhaps Assad himself, cautiously feeling his way, does not know.

What no one disputes is that, more and more, Syria is asserting itself as the arbiter of Lebanon's destiny, that every new convulsion is an opportunity for strengthening his grip that with the Israelis pulling out of the south the convulsions are coming thicker and faster, and that they have a climactic character. It can only be a matter of time and blood before the completion of Pax Syria.

Its foundations were laid when the US, Israel, and important Arab powers, acquiesced, however grudgingly, in the ultimate inevitability of Syria's domination. Some of the local actors, while acquiescing too, are still recalcitrant to Syrian purposes. At each other's expense they seek a larger place in the new order than Syria is prepared to allocate them.

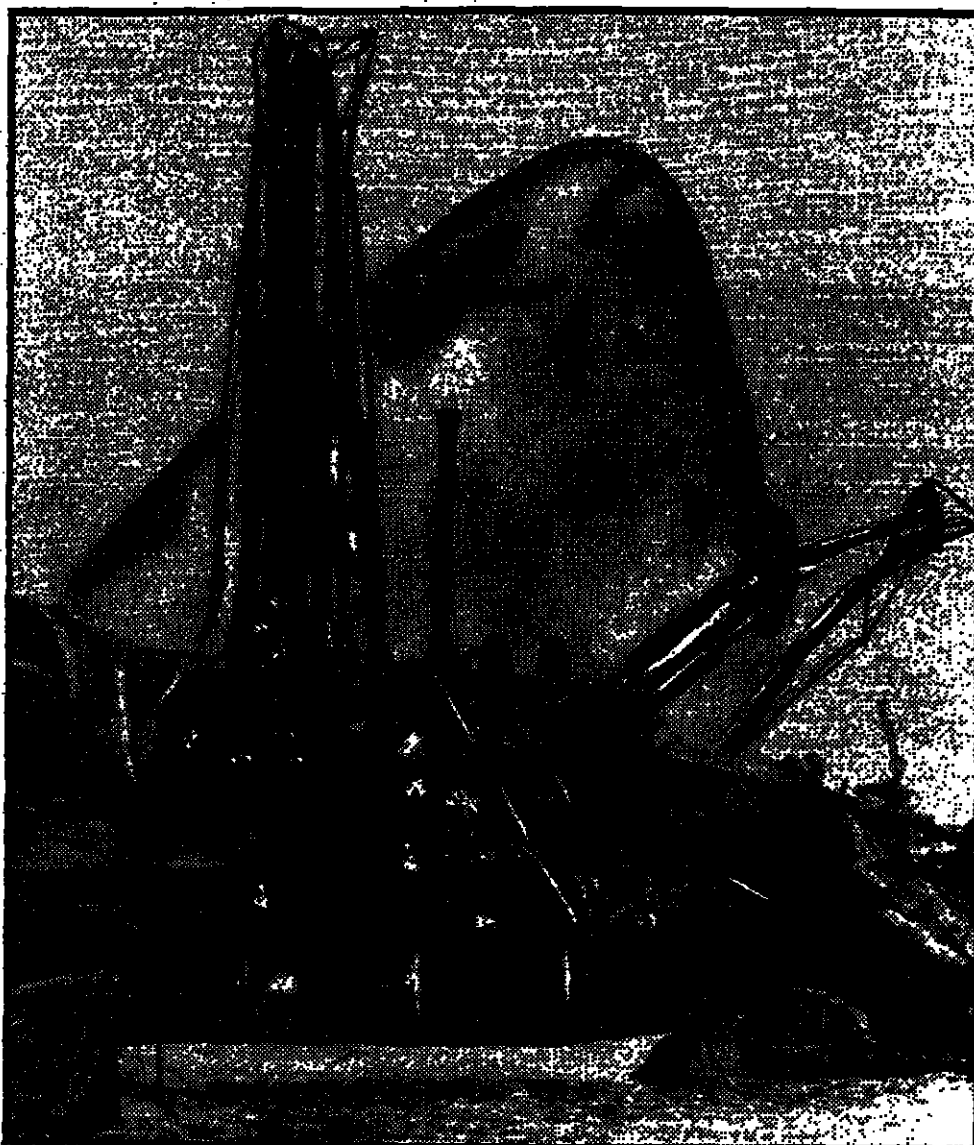
So, now, it is with the Palestinians. Strictly speaking, they are not, of course, a Lebanese community, but they are acting as though they enjoy "acquiring rights" alongside the Lebanese communities proper, above all the right to look after their own security in a uniquely threatening environment.

This disturbs President Assad, who is so apt to apprehend in any manifestation of Palestinian self-assertion, the machinations of Yasser Arafat.

If Lebanon's refugee camps were to become once again the armed redoubts they were before the Israeli invasion that would carry the danger that Arafat would win control of those of them in places, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, where Syria's military writ does not run.

Arafat will not be coming back to Beirut or Sidon to defy the Syrians from there as he once did from Tripoli, but

Turn to back page, col. 3



EXPLOSIONS AFTERMATH: The bows of the wrecked Panamanian-registered tanker Petrogen One, (above), one of two vessels which exploded on the refinery quayside blast at San Roque. Red Cross workers, police, ambulances and an army unit, (below) helped to rescue survivors



## 32 killed as oil tankers explode in Spain

From Jane Walker in Madrid

THIRTY-TWO people died or were missing and another 36 were injured when two tankers exploded and caught fire yesterday morning at a Spanish oil refinery in the Bay of Algeciras.

There was panic in the nearby town of San Roque when the 20,000 residents feared that the refinery's oil storage tanks might also explode. Many fled the area. Before the blast, the Panamanian-registered, Japanese-owned, 30,000-ton tanker, Petrogen One, with a crew of 23, was taking on a load of the highly inflammable naphtha oil. There was a huge explosion and the fire spread to an adjacent, 8,000-ton Spanish tanker, Campanaria, with a crew of 30, which was loading petrol from the refinery.

The blast broke nearby windows and flames rose to 1,000 feet. "The explosion was terrific," said the Mayor of San Roque. "It was like an earthquake."

Fire-fighters from neighbouring towns rushed to the scene. Red Cross, police, ambulances and an army unit also joined in the rescue work. Two fire tenders and a support vehicle with stretchers from Gibraltar arrived within minutes.

"We heard a massive explosion across the bay and immediately crossed into Spain," said Mr Les Edmunds, Gibraltar's chief fire officer. "We found a scene of total devastation."

Many of the dead and injured had been blown into the sea by the force of the explosion and small boats helped to pick up victims.

The injured, many seriously burned, were taken to nearby hospitals. It is believed the majority of the crew from the Panamanian tanker were Korean and that there were some survivors.

An oil slick about 600 feet long has been reported in the Bay of Algeciras, and tugs are trying to prevent it spreading. It was the third oil spillage into the bay this month, and by far the most serious.

Port officials said that most of the crew members were on board their ships at the time. Officials feared that bodies were trapped inside both vessels.

Seven Spanish dock workers whose Jeep was hit by the shock wave of the blasts were among the dead.

San Roque is a major petrochemical port built across the Bay of Algeciras during Franco's rule to give work to locals after he had sealed off the border with Gibraltar.

Turn to back page, col. 1

## This week

### Today

#### FALKLANDS NIGHTMARE

One morning he did not leave early. Instead he took the children to school... there were tears in his eyes as Fiona and Jamie walked away and into their classrooms. I knew then that it was the day that the Norland would sail. Patricia Slater remembers 1982, when her ferryman husband went to war. Page 11. John Ezard finds the new Falklands spirit. Page 2.

#### THE CHIEF AND THE PM

If there is a breakdown in the Thatcher-FitzGerald talks on Ireland, the suspicion is that Enoch Powell will turn out to have a major share in it. writes Ian Aitken in his Commentary. Page 11.

#### FACE TO FAITH

The Archbishop of York writes on simplicity, directness, and disagreement in the church. Agenda, page 7.

#### THE SACRIFICE

Stalking Tarkovsky. Derek Malcolm goes shooting in Sweden. Arts Guardian, page 9.

### Tomorrow

#### PROFIT LOST

Industries want industrial funds. But too often it's industry that makes on the deal. Education Guardian.

### Wednesday

#### DYNASTY DEFIED

Guardian Women charts the making of an American. Lynn Redgrave.

#### DOLE DATA

Unemployment doesn't have to bring depression. Body and Soul on the people who make a good job of being jobless.

### Thursday

#### TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Guardian Women updates the Durotriges and Brigantes

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Star Wars mission

THE US vice-president, Mr George Bush is to visit European capitals, including London, next month in an attempt to dispel misgivings about President Reagan's Star Wars programme expressed by European leaders at the recent summit. Page 5.

### Lear Fan crash

THE British Government is expected to lose virtually all the £37 million paid out to subsidise the Belfast plant of the collapsed Lear fan aircraft firm. Back page.

### Missing midwives

LOW pay anomalies are blamed for a national shortage of midwives. Page 3.

### Rebels return

GRAHAM GOOCH and Peter Willey are named in the England party for the open day at the Ashes cricket ground after completing their three-year ban from international cricket. Ian Botham also returns. Matthew Engel, page 17.

### Coventry's escape

COVENTRY escaped relegation from the First Division by beating the League champions Everton 4-1 yesterday. Strachan go down instead. Report, page 18.

## INSIDE

Agenda	7
Arts, Reviews	9
Crosswords	19, 20
Guardian Women	8
Home News	2-4, 20
Letters	10
Media	12
Meteo	13
Obituary	5, 6
Overseas News	14-17
Sports News	18
THE RADIO	18
ENTERTAINMENTS	18
PERSONAL	19

### The weather

HEAVY rain in places. Details, back page.

THE GUARDIAN IN EUROPE	
London	100p
Edinburgh	100p
Glasgow	100p
Manchester	100p
Newcastle	100p
Nottingham	100p
Sheffield	100p
Southampton	100p
Wolverhampton	100p
Cardiff	100p
Belfast	100p
Jersey	100p
Guernsey	100p
Manx	100p

## Tory opponents lining up to spike Fowler timetable

By James Naughtie, Chief Political Correspondent

Mr Norman Fowler faces a battle with a substantial group of Conservative backbenchers over legislation he plans for the next parliamentary session to give effect to social security reviews he will unveil next week.

Legislative time has been allocated to the Social Security Secretary for a comprehensive bill in the new session beginning in November, but influential backbenchers are already arguing that this gives insufficient time to consider the complexities of the changes.

Their protests signal the start of two months of horse-trading between Mr Fowler and his parliamentary colleagues over the contents of his bill.

Members of Mr Francis Pym's Centre Forward group,

and the band of traditional wets will argue that it is mistaken to attempt so many changes in one bill.

Backbenchers reacting to leaked versions of the reviews' conclusions sense that they will be electorally damaging. Reported charges on unemployment payments and supplementary benefits are particularly alarming to them.

The Cabinet has already agreed to modify Mr Fowler's original scheme for outright abolition of the state's earnings-related pension scheme.

Mr Fowler's green paper on the charges will be published next week. The detailed proposals for inclusion in a bill will have to be settled by the end of July.

This leaves a short time for consultation and discussions on a range of proposals which are complicated enough for Mr Fowler to have had to resort

to a half-hour slide show to explain it to the Cabinet.

The package will be presented as a simplification of the present system, but Tory MPs — nearly all of whom back a fundamental overhaul — fear that it will be easy for the opposition parties to present the Fowler proposals simply as a shift in resources

Concern on all sides, page 4

from the worst-off to pay for eventual tax cuts for others.

Mr Fowler can expect strong private pressure from some colleagues who will publicly welcome his reforms.

Some Tories believe that he may be prepared to drop some of the plans now in the green paper, such as the suggestions that recipients of housing benefit should be made to pay a percentage of their rates bills,

or to remove or reduce the payment of mortgages for those on unemployment benefit.

Mr Fowler's difficulty is that the Treasury is already unhappy about the relatively modest saving in the package — only about 2.5 per cent of the £40 billion annual budget — and would oppose any significant concession.

Several Tory backbenchers indicated last night that they expected to find themselves flatly opposed to parts of his scheme, though they were waiting for next week's Commons statement before declaring their opposition.

Ministers await the Fowler package with some trepidation, since the two months until the summer recess are already expected to be difficult for the Government.

Labour and the Alliance

promise a strong challenge to the Tory defence of their Brecon and Radnor set, which is expected in July and there is a prospect of good economics news.

Some senior ministers are emitting uncharacteristically gloomy noises about their prospects in the opinion polls and their unhappiness is the greater because of the Government's public expenditure difficulties.

Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor, faces an exceptionally tough round of spending negotiations with departmental colleagues in the autumn, since they will use pressure of public opinion to argue for a relaxation in spending targets to fight unemployment.

The Chancellor is agreed by his cabinet colleagues to be going into that fight in an atmosphere of confidence.

Turn to back page, col. 1

## NCB determined on tough line with Nacods

By Keith Harper, Labour Editor

The National Coal Board's determination to take a tough line against the pit deputies union, Nacods, is made clear in a confidential document sent out by the board more than a week before the union's overtime ban was applied.

The document, dated May 9 and signed by Mr Merrick Spanton, the board's member for personnel, suggests that the proposed ban constitutes a breach of the contract of employment and should therefore be regarded as strike action.

Mr Spanton said that the

Nacods agreement with the board did not mention the word overtime and that the call for an immediate overtime ban by the union did not therefore carry a clear-cut significance.

Mr Spanton then sets out the statutory requirement laid down in the Coal Industry Act 1946.

Deputies claim protection, back page; Pit leader pleads for goaled miners, page 2.

on officials. These include the requirement to make inspections, including pre-shift inspection, to confer with oncoming officials at the shift end.

and to keep records and complete reports.

To meet the circumstances of the ban, colliery managers were required by the board to cancel normal roster arrangements and draw up new rosters to minimise disruption to colliery operations.

These were to be based on the obligation of all officials to make five attendances in a pay week.

Mr Spanton then gives specific instructions if the ban went ahead. Officials who turned up on shifts other than those laid down in the roster should be sent home and advised to return at the shift end.

Turn to back page, col. 5

## PO's poetic licence stirs village

By Penny Chorlton

Disorientated residents of a luxury residential development in the Wiltshire village of South Marston, near Swindon, have been forced to send out sackloads of address cards after agreeing reluctantly to change the name of their road twice to appease the Post Office. The final straw came when the last name change, after the PO belatedly discovered that the houses had been wrongly numbered.

The offending road started life as Manor Park. This was deemed appropriate by the developers since the 17 houses were built on the site of the old manor house which had

been pulled down to make way for them.

However, shortly after the new residents began to move in just before Christmas, they were informed by the Post Office that Manor Park would not do—there were far too many Manors around the place, and the postmen and delivery vans would never be able to find them.

Surprised, but at this stage unperturbed, the residents readily agreed to the name being changed to Albert Williams Close. A bit of a mouthful perhaps, but A.W. had been a very famous, albeit slightly leftist, local poet.

No sooner had the new address cards been duly stamped and sent off when a new batch of letters arrived from the Post Office.

A terrible mistake had been made, they declared. The well-known local poet was not in fact named Albert, but Alfred.

The residents, none of whom had ever heard of the scribe, were by now beginning to feel rather annoyed. A third set of new address cards was sent out to friends, tax officers and all the other people they felt obliged to inform of their whereabouts.

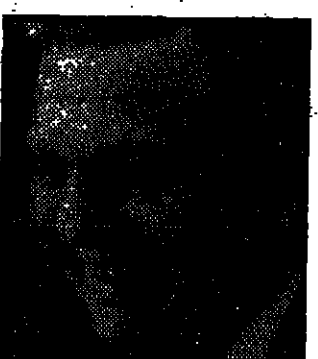
Then came the final blow. A new error was uncovered by the tireless PO officials: all the houses in the new estate had been numbered back-to-front, and did not comply with

regulations relating to new developments. Number 17 was to become number one, and so on until number 8 became number 10 and vice versa.

Mr Paul Scarrott (of plot 5, Manor Park/5 Albert Williams Close/5 Alfred Williams Close/13 Alfred Williams Close) said yesterday:

"There's a lot of crossing the lawns in the mornings to sort out the mail after the postman's been. We've found using our first address seems to have the highest success rate."

He added: "We don't like number 13, so we don't in fact use it. Actually, we're thinking of giving our house a name—something harmless like the Beeches."



Merrick Spanton — breach of contract

## Bangladesh cyclone kills thousands

From Amin Chowdhury in Dacca

At least 1,500 people are known to have been killed and thousands are still missing after the tidal waves which battered islands off Bangladesh's coast, state television said last night.

The waves were set off by a cyclone on Friday, and army and navy rescue teams yesterday searched for more victims.

One report reaching here said that all 10,000 fishermen living in a small southern island were feared dead.

Friday's disaster destroyed thousands of houses, damaged crops, and disrupted communications in all the offshore islands. Port officials said two cargo ships ran aground during the cyclone.

Attempts to find the thousands still missing have been hampered by heavy rains which caused fresh floods in low-lying areas, officials said.

A reporter who visited the remote island of Urrichar in the Bay of Bengal said the area was swept by a 42-foot high wave and nearly half the 2,000 population may have been killed.

President Hossain Mohammad Ershad yesterday visited some of the islands, where tens of thousands of people were facing shortages of drinking water, food, and fuel.



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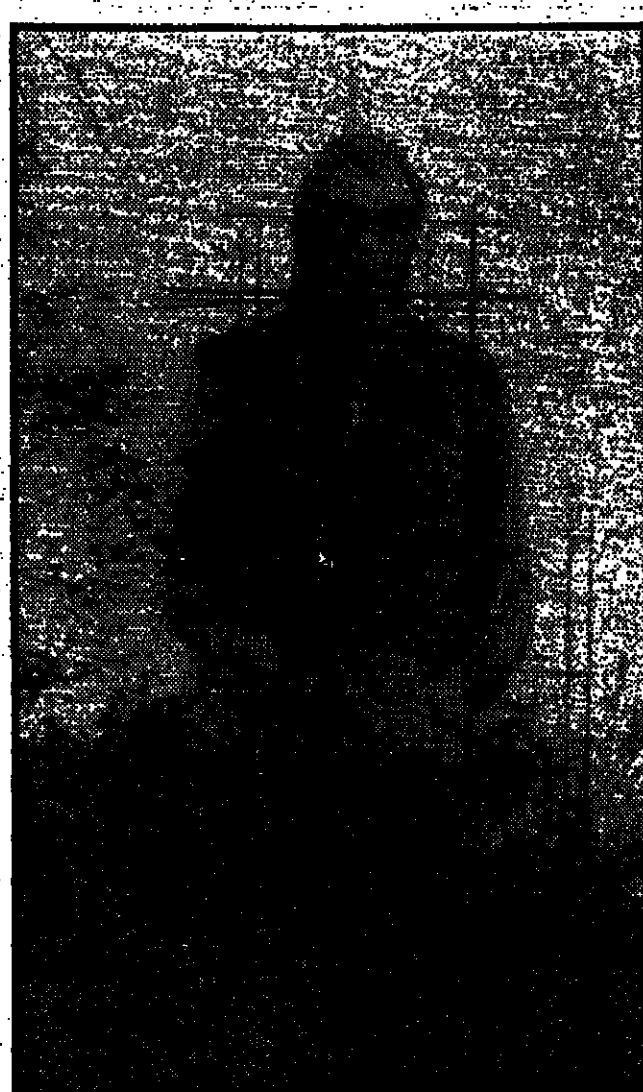
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## Plans to attract private housing and commercial development reflect public spending cuts, reports Geoff Andrews



The statue of the Shropshire Giant (right) takes an Olympian view of whatever fate may befall the lake in Town Park

A LARGE slice of parkland which is the centrepiece of a Midlands new town is being offered to developers for executive housing and a theme park.

The housing, on five sites around the edge of the 450-acre Town Park, Telford, Shropshire, will occupy some of the finest positions in the park, with two areas overlooking popular lakes.

The 85-acre recreation site, which includes another lake more than a quarter of a mile long, may also provide a route for a BMX track for local children.

A week ago Telford Townsdoes, the club which wants to develop the track, was given planning permission for the site for the next five years.

The local council's planning committee did not know that the track was involved in the proposals although a brochure showing it had been sent to potential developers long ago as March by Telford Development Corporation.

The council promised a fortnight ago to provide earth-moving equipment to help Telford Townsdoes with preparation of the site to allow them to finance the rest of the site.

A steam tramway; and a site laid out for a pitch and putt golf course.

The brochure invites submissions from commercial investors and points out that the nearby M54 motorway means that West Midlands construction is as fast as Coventry is within an hour's drive.

Behind the scheme lies the need to reduce spending in the new town in line with cuts being imposed on local authorities. Reductions in Telford have been ordered at the level of public housing and turned attention towards building for private sale.

Plans to take a large part of town park out of free public use as part of these cuts are partly because the development corporation is due to be wound up.

Mr Michael Osborn, deputy chairman of the corporation, says that about £2 million had been spent on the park. Because of limits on funding, alternative ways had to be found to bring in additional funds to attract visitors to the attractions and maintain the scheme. Enclosure would be limited, and the BMX track would not be taken over, although it is in the development area.

Of the housing sites, already reserved out and ad-

Because of special procedures governing development in new towns, it is unlikely that either the housing or the park scheme will result in a pure housing. Together they could take more than 20 per cent of the Town Park out of free public use, claim local opponents. They might also cut off access to the park for many people living nearby.

Proposals for some kind of commercial development of a part of the park have been common knowledge in the town since the late Lord Northfield, chairman of the development corporation, has spoken warmly of the plan for a "mini-Alton Towers"—a reference to the large theme park in Staffordshire.

In fact, the brochure sent to potential developers — but not sent to the council committee which deals with planning — conceals or publicises widely — shows that a much larger area than has been considered before is being taken into the plan.

This includes the town's open space theatre, a children's fairplay playground, built as a Youth Opportunity Scheme project and opened only last year; the Randley lake, park with water tower and water reservoir; and a new water and restocked its waters; a

vertised for sale, occupies the best sites around the banks of a tree-lined lake at the south of the park.

The issue of private housing on the park, which the development corporation has said would reduce less than £200,000, has been a matter of contention locally for about 18 months. A small but vocal group, the HOOP (Home Ownership on the Park), is canvassing opposition to this and to the theme park idea. Its secretary, Mrs Joan Noel, who moved to the town with her family 13 years ago from Walton on Thames says that the park is a significant factor in persuading them to move.

Mrs Jo Hill, wife of a local vicar, who chairs the group, points to the minimal return for the town. "We are getting back the amount of other housing sites ready for development, it seems crazy."

"By the time they take account of the road they have built on the site there will be no money in it and no savings either. Obviously the park is expensive to run. But if the cash is short it would be better to let more of the wilderness there to keep taking bites out of the best bits."

**By Geoff Andrews**

An attempt to overturn the decision of a committee of MPs and peers on a bypass route would be an "iniquitous manipulation of the law", it was claimed yesterday.

The Open Spaces Society, which led a number of environmental groups in a successful £50,000 protest over plans to build the A30 Okehampton bypass through a medieval deer park in the northern national park, yesterday deplored the attempt by a local MP, Sir Peter Mills, and 100 other Conservatives, to seek a confirming bill which would overturn the decision of a committee of MPs and peers convened to hear the case.

After a 12-day hearing they agreed in April that the road should not go ahead through the park but be built on agricultural land to the north of the town.

"Such a bill would be unprecedented and an iniquitous manipulation of the law," said Miss Kate Ashbrook, secretary of the Open Spaces society.

She deplored attempts to steamroll the independent jurisdiction of a committee set up by Parliament.

"Instead of trying to subvert democratic procedures, MPs should press Government to proceed with a northern route to the national park, and ask the committee to confirm it."

Miss Ashbrook added: "It has cost the objectors £50,000 to present their case to the committee, but we shall save Okehampton Park whatever the result."

The Department of Transport is still considering its response to the committee decision.

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	49	£4,702	£4,973	£7,781
<b>£15</b>	18	£30,105	£58,902	£351,253
	35	£14,858	£20,329	£57,392
	49	£7,203	£7,618	£11,919
<b>£20</b>	18	£40,557	£79,353	£473,209
	35	£20,017	£27,387	£77,320
	49	£9,704	£10,263	£16,057
<b>£25</b>	18	£51,010	£99,806	£595,175
	35	£25,176	£34,446	£97,248
	49	£12,205	£12,908	£20,195
<b>£30</b>	23	£61,114	£90,530	£537,067
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	35	<b>£5,785</b>	<b>£16,523</b>
	49	<b>£1,465</b>	<b>£2,351</b>
<b>£15</b>	18	<b>£29,901</b>	<b>£179,104</b>
	35	<b>£8,863</b>	<b>£26,312</b>
	49	<b>£2,245</b>	<b>£3,602</b>
<b>£20</b>	18	<b>£40,281</b>	<b>£241,278</b>
	35	<b>£11,940</b>	<b>£34,101</b>
	49	<b>£3,024</b>	<b>£4,852</b>
<b>£25</b>	18	<b>£50,666</b>	<b>£303,482</b>
	35	<b>£15,018</b>	<b>£42,890</b>
	49	<b>£3,904</b>	<b>£5,103</b>
<b>£30</b>	23	<b>£45,000</b>	<b>£218,510</b>
	35	<b>£18,095</b>	<b>£51,680</b>
	49	<b>£4,583</b>	<b>£7,353</b>

(min. age 23\*)

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# Low pay 'drives midwives out of the profession'

By Penny Charleston

"Midwives are suffering an acute staff shortage, with only a quarter of trained midwives working in the hospitals."

The Royal College of Midwives, which represents most of the country's 27,000 practising midwives, is writing to every MP this week, explaining why 90,000 trained in the profession are not using their skills.

The director of labour relations at the RCM, Mr Michael Hill, wants the Government to increase midwives' pay by about 50 per cent.

About 16 per cent of vacancies are filled and the RCM says that the national shortage would be 24 per cent if staffing levels were more realistic.

Practising midwives earn less during their 18 months' specialised training than other nurses and, once qualified, they are likely to be paid less than their contemporaries will almost certainly have been promoted to sister level.

If a nurse spends a year training to be a health visitor, she will earn more than a midwife while training, but earns a minimum of £7,578 a year after qualifying, compared with £5,398 for a midwife, says Mr Hill.

Lorraine Aquilina and Jacqui Payne are student midwives at Liverpool Maternity Hospital and they are seriously considering not practising the profession once their training is complete.

"All our former colleagues are now sisters and sisters are much more than we are or will ever be," says Miss Payne. "I'll earn it we decide to use our midwifery skills," said Miss Payne.

Sheila McIlroy, an RCM labour relations officer, estimates that the Government, the health service and the RCM are likely to lose about £30,000 for each trained midwife not practising.

The Prime Minister is currently considering the recommendations of the nurses' pay review body and a statement is expected next month.

Greta Balfour, a former midwife who is now a labour relations officer at the RCM, says of the drop-out rate: "If there were no public demand for the midwives then it wouldn't matter how many, but the whole trend is away from the midwife as a most respected profession and their partners really want midwives in preference to doctors."

Mrs Balfour suggested that it is mothers who know services are short of midwives the NHS says they might think twice about agreeing to stay in hospital.

"The assumption is that if you go to a hospital then you are going to be able to receive expert care if you need it. But in some instances you might not be better off going home and staying in bed with a telephone nearby, or a surgeon might help in the form of a trained midwife if you really need it."

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 30 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 85 years of age or older is projected to increase from 2 million to 4 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 90 years of age or older is projected to increase from 500,000 to 1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 95 years of age or older is projected to increase from 100,000 to 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 100 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10,000 to 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).



## Concern on all sides at welfare review

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

The biggest review of the welfare state for 40 years will be announced next week by Mr Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, against a background of intense public disapproval and mounting concern among MPs of all political persuasions.

A public opinion poll on the subject published last week suggests that the electorate is deeply disturbed by reports of Mr Fowler's proposals, and would prefer increases rather than cuts in many of the benefits which cost taxpayers £40 billion a year.

The Labour Party is looking forward to the arguments expected to erupt after Mr Fowler's announcements. It is privately hoping that he will plough ahead with cuts and sink the Conservative Party and Mrs Thatcher's chances of winning the next general election.

The Liberals and Social Democrats have given notice that they are unlikely to back the Government's most contentious proposals — especially the abolition of the state earnings-related pension scheme (Serps).

Conservative backbenchers and Scottish Conservatives are also worried about possible changes — particularly the effect on pensioners should large-scale housing benefit cuts be introduced.

Last week's opinion poll, conducted by MORI for the joint trade union and poverty lobby group Action on Benefits, found that 71 per cent thought unemployment benefit was too low, 69 per cent thought state pensions were inadequate, and 55 per cent thought supplementary benefit payments to families were too low.

More than half the public disapproves of the abolition of Serps, and 55 per cent think child benefit should continue to be paid to everyone with a child.

More than half the country also disapproves of the introduction of a cash voucher scheme on American lines to replace the present extra benefit payments to those in need.

They do not welcome the idea of paying higher National Insurance contributions for fewer benefits. Mr Michael Meacher, Labour's social services spokesman, has already asked Mr Fowler to debate the issue in five cities — London, Birmingham, Newcastle, Cardiff and either Glasgow or Edinburgh.

He said: "The Government has absolutely no mandate for the sweeping cut-backs in social security which the Fowler reviews are now advocating."

"There has been no attempt to balance the membership of the review committees — indeed they were unrepresentative and one-sided. And now it is manifestly clear that large majorities of the public do not support at all the changes they propose."

Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democrats, has also made it clear that he will not accept the abolition of Serps without considerable concessions.

He wants the scheme rewritten — perhaps with contributions over 30 instead of 20 years — or a big increase in basic pensions to come into force when it is abolished.

A row also seems likely unless the Government announces a long consultation period after the publication of the green paper. Already 15 organisations, including the Child Poverty Action Group, have written to Mr Fowler saying that any deadline as soon as July 31 is far too short.

They want at least until November before any decisions are taken.

Mr Meacher said this was an underestimate because the figure for new beds since 1979 — 12,035 — included those in new hospitals and extensions of existing hospitals. The figure for closures — 14,521 — referred only to losses of beds from the shut-down of entire hospitals, not those lost in closing wards within hospitals.

Mr Meacher said he would be pressing Mr Clarke for the full picture next week.

He said: "These figures show that so far from the NHS being safe in Tory hands, it is steadily declining."

"Fewer hospital beds must mean longer waiting lists and that some people die because they cannot get access to a hospital bed quickly enough."

A DHSS spokesman said that the Government preferred to think in terms of the number of patients treated, which had increased over the past six years, rather than the number of hospital beds.

## Swindon's GWR celebrations run out of steam

Gareth Parry assesses the mood of 2,300 BR engineers who face redundancy in this anniversary year

THE 150th anniversary of the Great Western Railway seems set to mark a tragedy for Swindon — the Wilshire town it built and made prosperous.

In August, British Rail hopes that its 2,300 engineering workers will help to celebrate the age of steam trains which their forefathers built with such pride. In September, they will all receive redundancy notices.

Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the genius but slightly eccentric engineer who had scant regard for brakes, made the Great Western one of the world's greatest railways. His statue stands in the thriving shopping mall named after him, his back squarely turned on the once gigantic GWR carriage and locomotive works which will be empty by next March.

The engineering unions will confront leaders of British Rail Engineering Ltd (BREL) on Wednesday and a concerted one-day strike will be held at Swindon, but the unions are hesitant about calling for national action, after the humiliating collapse of last week's London Underground strike.

The Swindon engineering unions are confident, however, that they will be able to dismantle BREL's stated reasons for closing its workshops. This is the most devastating part of the plan to axe one-fifth of the engineering workforce in the next two years — throwing 5,000 out of work.

BREL, a British Rail subsidiary, says the reduction in its repair and maintenance workload, coupled with the imperative to build new stock, means that the closures are inevitable. Paradoxically,

extra reliability and longevity have been built into modern railway stock by engineers like those at Swindon.

The mood of the men inside the fortress-like walls of the 107 acres of workshops is an amalgam of great bitterness, resignation, and despair. Of the Swindon workforce, 950 are aged between 45 and 58 and may have no prospect of working again.

What has perplexed them has been the number of assurances over the years that there was a long way to go before closures.

Last August, a BREL spokesman told the Swindon Advertiser: "We will only have enough work for about 700 men in 1988, and that means the works will not be viable. But no decision will be taken on the possible closure until the middle of 1988."

A month later it was reported that all jobs were guaranteed until March 1989, and that no voluntary redundancies or early retirements would be on offer — although the future still pointed to eventual closure.

Earlier this year, only a few months before the closure notice, Mr Alan Dunkley, BREL's personnel director, said that although Swindon would be run down 1,000 jobs would remain. Mr Dunkley was greeted at Swindon on May 15 by hundreds of angry men and a hangman's noose. Security men and a dog were called to the rescue.

Mr Dunkley has since admitted that Swindon is being sacrificed to save jobs at other BREL workshops, notably at its Derby headquarters.

Swindon Holdings Ltd, to help establish new business and industry to cushion the inevitable redundancies.

Mr David Kent, the chief executive of Thamesdown Borough Council, is a man of measured statement. "The borough was not wildly impressed by the Swindon Holdings package," BREL didn't seem to be putting in much capital in relation to the job losses, he said.

"Our view now is that the package is even more grossly inadequate than we had thought, when we viewed it in terms of a reduction in the workforce," said Mr Kent. "If they want our co-operation, BREL will have to make it much more substantial and appropriate to the redundancies they have created. In the light of this, the

borough will refuse to co-operate until such a new package is proposed."

Meanwhile, the empty workshop area will be worth between £15 million and £20 million in crude terms to a developer.

Mr George Hall, the workshop supervisors' representative on the BR Joint Action Committee of 10 trade unions and staff associations, says: "The ground that the railway works stand on today is going to be worth hundreds of millions of pounds in the future, because the new industries coming to Swindon are hungry for space. Could that be one of the reasons behind the closure?"

There is a large amount of work still available to BREL, but the distribution of this work is such that it is going to work that have

already got a workload they can't handle, and are therefore having to send it out to outside contractors. Our argument is that it should be fed back into BREL."

Mr Graham Humphries, the acting chairman of the joint committee, says: "BREL are not saying they are closing Swindon because it's a bad shop, or anything like that. They're admitting the industrial relations and labour relations record is excellent. If, then, they cannot say that the closure is based on an industrial decision, it has to be a political one."

The joint action committee says that Swindon's closure would leave two other workshops, at Eastleigh, and Doncaster, "extremely vulnerable."

What we think of that is that they will be ripe for privatisation — just like the Serpell report said," says Mr Humphries.

Mr Geoff James, BREL's manufacturing director, says: "I have explained that BREL's workload on repairs will reduce with the introduction of new vehicles and although repairs for BR will continue to be a significant part of our workload for some years to come, the key to our future must be new building."

"Competition in the home and overseas market place is extremely fierce and is here to stay. However, the progress we have made in the last 13 months is encouraging and the position, as I see it, is that it would seem unlikely that there will be any further works closure in the foreseeable future, but this of course depends on our ability to meet the competitive demands of the market place both for new construction and repairs."

It is with very mixed feelings that Swindon's 2,300 rail engineers will boycott the Great Western Railways celebrations in August. But they believe the townfolk will understand.

The engineering workshops at Swindon which seem doomed to close

ters. Glasgow will lose 1,200 jobs by next March; Doncaster 350; and Eastleigh, Southampton, 400. The Swindon men will receive redundancy payments of around £12,000.

Even when the Beeching axe cut deeply in the late 1950s, Swindon's diesel locomotives remained in world-wide demand. It is now out of fashion, and the industry has gradually shed its steam age image. It is now outstandingly successful in producing growth and prosperity in a myriad of directions — notably as the silicon capital. There are around 30 computer companies in Thamesdown borough council's area and other big businesses have since fled down the M4 from London and its crippling rates and rents.

BREL last February set up

## Lecturers vote to step up action on pay

By a Correspondent

College lecturers are to broaden and intensify action in support of their pay claim and may continue a programme of selective strikes into the autumn.

The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education decided at its conference in Plymouth this weekend to strengthen its existing ban on voluntary duties and to organise a long-term pay campaign with other teaching unions. The union is seeking a 20.5 per cent increase as a means of restoring salary levels, and has rejected an offer of 4 per cent.

The general secretary, Mr Peter Dawson, told delegates that the Burnham committee should be scrapped and a new negotiating body set up, which could operate without constant interference from the Government.

The conference condemned proposals to close six teacher training colleges and departments. The Department of Education and Science calls it rationalisation. We call it lunacy," said Dr Liz Payne Ahmad, of North Riding College, Scarborough.

Under proposals being considered by the national advisory body for local authority higher education, all initial teacher training at North Riding College, North Yorkshire College, the College of St Mark and St John Plymouth, and Portsmouth and North London Polytechnics would cease from September 1989.

Dr Payne Ahmad said that while four of the colleges and departments under threat specialised in primary and nursery training, institutions with little or no primary expertise are being asked to sacrifice their BA courses to take this one.

Seamus Milne adds: A dismal picture of Britain's schools will be sent next month to the Education Secretary, Sir Keith Joseph, by the National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations.

Classes are too big, books are out-of-date, and buildings are falling apart, says the report, which echoes the findings of her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools, published last week. The government inspectors warned that children's education was suffering from the squeeze on public funds.

The NCPTA's report is a national survey based on replies to a questionnaire. The confederation brings together 4,500 groups representing 4 million parents. Its findings show that class sizes are rising despite falling rolls. Many primary school classes have between 30 and 35 pupils, compared with the Government's own guideline of 26. Parents and teachers have reported cases of leaking roofs, dangerous wiring, and rotting windows.

Mr James Hammond, NCPTA's deputy general secretary, said that the report reflected parents' frustration at the condition of many schools. "What they cannot understand is how Sir Keith can say things are rosy when they know that the actual state of the schools is entirely different. The whole system seems to be falling apart."

"The evidence shows that younger graduates in mathematics and science are rejecting a profession in teaching because of low salaries and low morale. School buildings are allowed to crumble and decay. Textbooks are a luxury of yesterday."

He has been seeking aid from government agencies to create jobs on the site and has put in a bid which is subject to contracts being exchanged within six weeks or the offer will lapse.

"The property is due to be auctioned in October and the Welsh Office wants to attract the highest bidder, but it may be that their attitude will cost them the bid," Mr Tove declared. "We could start on repairs straight away if our bid was accepted."

Mr Donald Coleman, Labour MP for Neath and the opera group's honorary president, said: "It is vitally important that there is an undertaking that it will be used for the benefit of the public and not just for a commercial use."

The Welsh Office said it had to obtain the best possible price, and hoped new owners would accommodate the opera group.

The Neath Opera Group, which has performed at the castle for more than 30 years, is preparing for what may be its last season.

"I don't think we would play anywhere else — all the members of the chorus love this place and its atmosphere," said Mr Mel Jones, the group's chairman.

Ms Susan Roberts, the group's general secretary, said that many of the

## Theatre threatened by sale of hospital

A MOCK Gothic castle in the Swansea valley, where the international soprano Adelina Patti built a smaller version of London's Drury Lane Theatre in which to entertain royalty and friends, is at the centre of an operatic drama.

Craig-y-Nos, which has been used as a geriatric hospital for many years, has been put up for sale by Powys Health Authority.

The Victorian theatre extension is the home of the Neath Opera Group and although it is a listed building there is no guarantee that new owners would allow the group to continue performing there.

A Gloucestershire management consultant, Mr William Tove — whose wife's forebears built the 150-year-old castle where Patti died in 1912 — has put together a rescue package to retain the theatre.

The theatre, completed in 1890, has fluted pillars, arabesque ponds and £3,000 of gold leaf on the ceiling.

Mr Tove said he was worried by the Welsh Office's slow progress on Craig-y-Nos. At the beginning of the year, his scheme would have cost £12 million but increased restoration would put this to £17 million by next January.

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Ms Susan Roberts, the group's general secretary, said that many of the

hospital patients' attended dress rehearsals.

"We must be the only hospital in the NHS with its own theatre, as opposed to an operating theatre," said the nursing officer, Mr Roger Deeks.

"The patients think it is marvellous and I hope the theatre will continue after we've gone."

No one is expecting a pay dispute in the NHS this year. Ancillary staff, represented by NUPHE, GMBTU and the Transport and General Workers' Union, are too demoralised by privatisation of their jobs. But if there is a review body between the pay dispute and the next election, due to be announced by the Prime Minister within a fortnight, and that for other staff, a dispute could begin to build up for next year.

In particular, there is likely to be anger among the higher grade administrative staff, who have been recognised for some years to be relatively underpaid. Managers recruited from outside the NHS negotiate their own salaries while those appointed from within get £5,000 on top of their existing salaries. This opens enormous gaps between consultants, who may be getting over £40,000 a year, and unit managers, who are appointed general managers, and unit managers whose maximum existing salary would be little more than half that.

The ancillary unions have rejected a pay offer of 4.5 per cent and are looking for not less than 10 per cent below the nurses' figure.



PERFORMING APPEAL: Mel Jones and Susan Roberts of the Neath Opera Group outside the Craig-y-Nos theatre. Picture by Denis Stephens

## 'Revise code' call to health unions

By John Ardill, Labour Correspondent

The TUC health unions will be asked to revise their code of conduct on providing emergency cover during disputes after the decision last week of the National Union of Public Employees to abandon TUC guidelines and leave level of cover to be set by shop stewards.

The NUPE decision, taken by its NHS section conference in Scarborough, is causing some alarm among other health unions. They believe it will result in hard line management and under political pressure from the Government, sending staff home for refusing emergency cover. This would lead to locally escalating disputes diverting attention from the main line of trade unionism as a nationally organised pay dispute.

The decision, backed by NUPE's health service national committee and its national secretary, Mr Bob Jones, has been described by some trade unionists as a silly one which will rebound on NUPE and cause divisions in disputes.

NUPE reaffirmed its pledge to provide emergency cover during disputes and it will ask other health unions to follow the course of dropping the detailed national guidelines in favour of such a pledge. Mr Jones said there was no question of revising the guidelines.

The General Municipal and Boilermakers' Union will urge the FUC health services committee to produce a new code, the GMBU's public services national officers' trade unionists as a silly one which will rebound on NUPE and cause divisions in disputes.

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## 'Fewer offences' being committed by the young

By Paul Keel

The number of offences committed by young people is falling, despite the popular myth that Britain is facing a rising tide of juvenile crime, says a report published today by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro).

The number of known juvenile offenders, which rose steeply in the 1950s and 1960s and fluctuated during the 1970s, has levelled off over the past few years, and in 1983 the number was 10 per cent down on 1974.

According to the report, juvenile crime, 167,900 offenders aged under 17 were cautioned or sentenced for indictable offences in 1983. The majority of offences for which they were indicted concerned petty theft and handling stolen goods. Only 8 per cent involved violence, sex, or robbery.

The figures for recorded juvenile crime compare with a steady increase in the number of young adult offenders aged 17 to 20 (up 40 per cent from 1974 to 1983), and adult offenders aged 21 and over (up 36 per cent).

There has also been an increasing use of custodial sentences for juveniles. The proportion of sentenced boys aged 14 to 16 placed in custody rose from 8 per cent in 1973 to 12 per cent in 1983. But that, according to Ms Vivien Stern, the director of Nacro, was not the explanation for the fall.

"Eighty-one per cent of juveniles leaving Borstals and 71 per cent of those leaving detention centres are re-committed within two years," Ms Stern said yesterday.

She believed that the single most important factor in the declining juvenile crime figures was the increasing use of formal cautions for young people.



## Pasok campaign taken to Salonika

The Greek passion for politics as street theatre gives little indication of Sunday's election result

From Campbell Page in Salonika

THE GREEN revolution came to Salonika at the weekend.

Green is the colour of the ruling Socialist party, Pasok, and the centre of Greece's second city was overlaid with scarves, banners, and posters as the Prime Minister and party leader, Mr Andreas Papandreu, prepared to deliver his campaign speech.

Small boats with that a banner, decorated with the Pasok flag, were in the harbour. Pasok supporters in the city were also seen with the flag. The Pasok flag is a green triangle with a white star and the word "Pasok" in white.

An old man wore a medal commemorating the Greek liberation, Venizelos, together with the insignia of Pasok. It was a supporter of early 20th century radicalism was recognising Pasok as the legitimate heir to the radical tradition in Greece. Other enthusiasts wore bright green scarves, carried green-inked carnations, or had cloaked themselves in party flags.

The crowd believed that the people had been on the march since Pasok first won power in 1981. The people's progress must not be checked in next Sunday's general election.

Greek politics still takes place in the streets and in the squares. Mobilisation is confident and competition moves outbidding the crowds rallied by the opposition.

A man from Mars who saw the meeting organised by the main opposition party, the Conservative New Democracy, in Salonika early this month, would not have been surprised. He had concluded, after seeing such passion and such numbers, that New Democracy must win the election. He would have reached the opposite conclusion after seeing the Pasok rally on Saturday.

But the Greek predilection for politics as street theatre and the voters' willingness to turn out for the party leaders give little indication of the election result.

Despite its impressive mobilisation in Salonika, Pasok knows that the election will probably be very close. In 1984, Pasok won 48 per cent of the vote — compared with New Democracy's 36 per cent — won a majority with 172 of the 300 seats in Parliament.

Last year, in the European elections, the gap between the two main parties closed to 2.5 per cent. It is widely believed that his election will have swung further to the opposition, while there has also been some loss of support for Pasok in the countryside.

Now, private opinion polls and those organised by the parties point to one thing. If you allow for a margin of error of a few per cent, Pasok and New Democracy are running neck and neck, and no one can make a firm prediction of the result.

In Salonika, Mr Papandreu, hoarse from campaigning, gave a delighted crowd a 70-minute speech. Any mention of the right, as the force which has monopolised power under different labels for so long, brought hoots and jeers as party activists signalled for a "secondo".

Salonika, where the left-wing deputy, Mr Gregory Lambrakis, died in mysterious circumstances in 1963, providing the basis of the film *Z*, is well versed in the demography of left-right confrontation.

Any reference to progress and the need for a second four-year term to consolidate the achievements of the first term provoked cheers and a mass of waving scarves and flags.

The election campaign has been embittered by Mr Papandreu's dislike for the New Democracy leader, Mr Constantine Mitsotakis. He regards as a threat to the centre Union Party to which they both belonged before the 1987 military coup. Mr Mitsotakis was outraged by Mr Papandreu's decision to withdraw support for the former party leader, Mr Constantine Karamanlis, as a candidate for a second term as president and to elect the judge, Mr Christos Sartzetakis, by a procedure which the opposition considers unconstitutional.

## Vice-President plans trip to London, Paris and Bonn

# Bush to woo Europeans on US Star Wars plan

From Alex Brummer in Washington

In an effort to bolster sagging Nato support for Star Wars, President Reagan is dispatching Vice-President George Bush to London and other European capitals early next month, diplomatic sources said here yesterday.

Mr Bush's role will be to emphasise the importance of the President's Strategic Defence Initiative to an increasingly sceptical audience and at the same time make the case in the strongest terms for European participation in the project.

The trip coincides with a new round of arms control talks in Geneva and a critical Nato meeting on Star Wars in Portugal early next month.

Diplomats here said that the trip should be seen in the broader context of the US Administration's desire to consult on transatlantic relations. But they acknowledged that Star Wars was uppermost on President Reagan's mind at present.

Reagan was apparently taken aback by the lukewarm support for Star Wars he heard at the Bonn summit. It is hoped within the Administration that Mr Bush can repeat his successful trip to Europe of almost two years ago, when he was sent by President Reagan to build support for the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles, and the then US position at the arms control talks in Geneva.

Mr Bush will probably start his trip in London and will also travel to West Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland. In the latter two countries, the main concern is likely to be medium range missile systems as much as Star Wars. The US is being billed by the Ad as being "billed by the Ad as being a combination of education and hand-holding".

The Vice-President leaves for Europe at a time when Star Wars will again be making headlines in the US. After last week's decision in the Senate to lift the ban on the moratorium on testing of anti-satellite systems, critical decisions will have to be taken shortly on the size of the 1986 AD budget, with \$8 per cent of the total — compared with New Democracy's 36 per cent — won a majority with 172 of the 300 seats in Parliament.

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Congress will be getting some firm advice to go slow from some of the US's scientists. Mr Richard Garvin, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, are leading about 700 scientists who will this week launch a media campaign against the SDI research effort.

The campaign, which has attracted 53 winners of the Nobel prize, will begin with a full page advertisement in the New York Times, urging both superpowers to ban space weapons. It will be followed by television commercials across the country.

Although Europe's political leaders have appeared highly cautious about Star Wars in recent public statements, there are strong indications from the SDI office at the Pentagon of European interest in getting some of the contracts.

According to diplomatic sources, there has been a series of meetings between British and American defence officials and scientists on Star Wars.

THE former West German Chancellor, Mr Willy Brandt, arrived in Moscow yesterday for talks with the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and other Kremlin officials, expected to focus on disarmament and other East-West issues.

WARS, and the United Kingdom has hopes of participating in development of some of the laser and fibre optic technology. Similar unpublished meetings have taken place with teams from other countries anxious to get involved in Star Wars, including West Germany and Japan. Israel, which enjoys close defence arrangements with the US, is also strongly pursuing a role.

It appears from President Reagan's latest comments that Star Wars will continue to be the main stumbling block to further progress at the Geneva arms talks.

Published over the weekend, with the Rome newspaper, *Il Tempo*, Mr Reagan stuck firmly to the idea that it was possible to have progress on strategic and intermediate range weapons systems without restricting his Star Wars research. The Russians are demanding such curbs on research as a requirement for progress elsewhere.

by train from West Germany carrying a loaded Browning automatic pistol. The man, aged about 25, gave his name as Samet Aslan although his identity papers called for him to be false, Mr van der Laan said.

The pistol was similar to the one used by his fellow-Turk, Agca, in the near-fatal attack on the Pope in St Peter's Square on May 13, 1981. Agca, already gaoled for life in Italy, was one of eight men who will go on trial in Rome today accused of conspiring to kill the Pope.

Aslan was arrested during a routine check.

Eighteen leading Greek left-wing personalities yesterday called for the immediate release of Sergei Antonov, a Bulgarian charged with involvement in the attempted murder of the Pope.

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The Government has distributed thousands of copies of a booklet that lists 70 pages of Hugo events going on somewhere in France during the year. That galaxy of commemorations is not surprising. The Socialists running France today "thence, it is hard, however, for the French to find any fault with celebrating Victor Hugo. Starting with their earliest school days, every

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## Yeshua cult pulsates to Hebrew chant

Messianic Jewish congregations are growing like wildfire. Alex Brummer, in Philadelphia, assesses the phenomenon

ON FRIDAY nights, the traditional start of the Jewish Sabbath, several hundred young Philadelphians gather in a converted restaurant in the Overbrook district, a mile or so from the Move Headquarters.

The men wear skullcaps and beards, and some show the fringes associated with orthodox Jews, while the women are clad in pretty frocks, or Israeli costume.

The low ceiling-beamed room is generously decorated with the blue star of the Shield of David and the pulpit is adorned with a velvet cloth carrying the same symbol.

Every Friday, the room resonates with the chant of Hebrew and the sound of tambourines, as a vibrant congregation recites the Sabbath blessings over the wine and chalice with expressions of blank ecstasy on their faces.

In the classrooms below, children learn Hebrew and, once a month, the congregation will gather on a Saturday to celebrate a Bar Mitzvah, the ritual Jewish introduction of a child to manhood and the fulfilment of the Commandments.

Despite all the outward symbols of Judaism, congregations of Beth Yeshua, located in the heart of Philadelphia's large and thriving Jewish community, is not, as it is described in the yellow pages, a synagogue. Beth Yeshua is a "House of Jesus" where largely Jewish-origin population gathers to proclaim Jesus as the Messiah.

It is one of three such "Messianic Jewish" congregations in Philadelphia alone, one of 80 nationwide and they are growing like wildfire. The US has an estimated 50,000 self-proclaimed believers — threatening the fabric, through the Jews for Jesus missions, of perhaps the most assimilated Jewish communities in the world.

Philadelphia has been a melting pot of religious fervour and Nonconformism since the earliest days of the American colonies. Just a few miles away, in rural Lancaster County, dwell the Amish and Mennonite remnants of a past era of European Protestantism.

The city is home to Mordechai Kaplan's reconstructionist theories of Judaism, has a strong Presbyterian presence, and for some 50 years its Messianic Jewish centre (with the apparent support of the Presbyterian Church, regards the activities of Beth Yeshua as dangerous. He and other Christian pastors were asked informally by the Metropolitan Council of Churches to prepare a statement expressing their distaste for Beth Yeshua's activities.

Mr McMillan, an intellectual, says that the congregation sells the notion that you "don't have to convert to be Christian" which he regards as deceitful.

He argues that, "because of the Holocaust, the Christians have no right to evangelise the Jew." Having attended Friday night services as an observer, he believes that the congregation is peddling a kind of "pop psychology" which appeals to the uncertain lost souls it attracts through "endless dancing."

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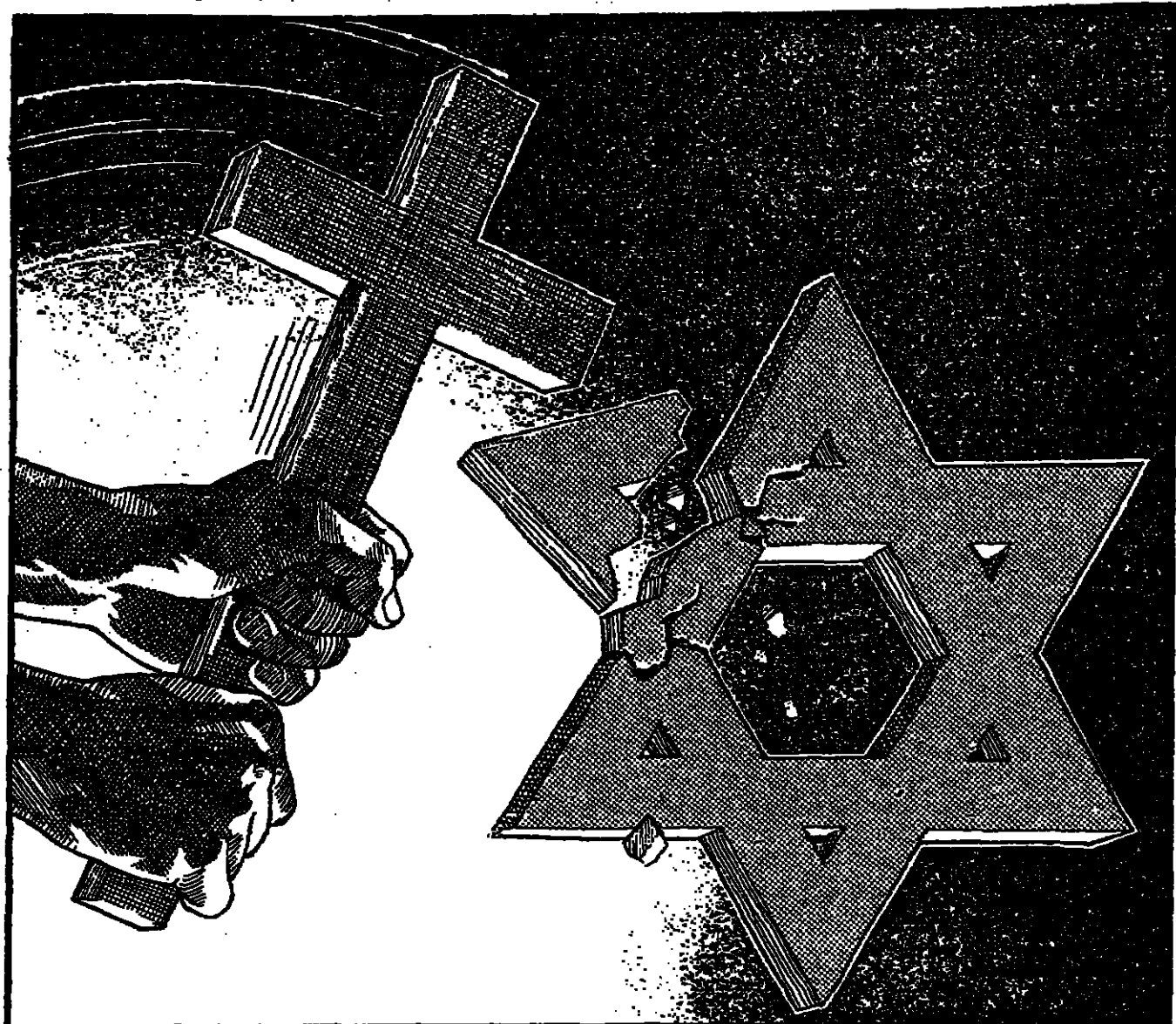
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GRAPHICS: PETER CLARKE

suggested that the authority structure at Beth Yeshua was out to convert Jews, finds the practices at Beth Yeshua "an embarrassment" to the cause. In his own Sunday services, which include some Jewish prayers, the early verses of the "Shema," the proclamation of God's oneness — he makes a point of being open and clear from the pulpit about the congregation's commitment to Jesus Christ as the Messiah.

Beth Yeshua's pastor, Mr Michael Chernoff, came to Philadelphia 10 years ago and is said by former members to rule the congregation with an iron rod. Cecilia Toth, a partly Jewish believer who will graduate from the University of Pennsylvania this summer, decided to leave when the pastor's wife sought to interfere in her relationship with a male member of the congregation.

She describes the congregation as an "aberrant example of Messianic Judaism in which the pastor has taken on more authority than permitted."

Neil Altman, who was among Beth Yeshua's founding families, says that he and his wife left because they "smelt a rat" and are now attending a conservative synagogue, although they retain their belief in the Messiah.

The visitor at Friday night services quickly understands Mr Altman's reservations. After being searched for tape recorder and camera, a personal first in synagogue going, I was shown to a seat by my handler, Yossi, a pleasant young man who reminded me at frequent intervals of the accomplishments of the congregation.

The services are, however, a triumph of form over substance. In charge is the sick son of the pastor, David Chernoff, wearing his fashionable double-breasted light grey suit with bright red tie. He lounges on a bench behind a stage like some ancient potentate.

In front of him, a band of young men, dressed in dark suits, play a variety of instruments, including a trumpet, a saxophone, and a keyboard.

Then in the midst of all this ferment of a high-kicking Hora, a woman, dressed up like the Hollywood movie stars might imagine the Jewish mother of old with a fine lace veil drawn over her head, lights the Sabbath candles dedicating them in Hebrew not to the Old Testament God, but to Yeshua, the Messiah. It is a totally incongruous act in what has essentially become a charismatic Christian service.

The climax of this 180-minute extravaganza is a Bible teach-in by Chernoff the Younger who believes that the best way of convincing his audience of the "foundation" which God provides is by telling a few jokes. It is a confident, if unenlightening, performance, carried off with all the aplomb and pyrotechnics of the television evangelist.

Beneath the veneer of fellowship and good feeling, which the Beth Yeshua worship provides, there do appear to be more sinister forces at work. One former church member, writing in the Jewish Exponent, said that people are "definitely intimidated through spiritual manipulation... it's all in the tradition of totalitarian mind control." It is more than that.

Cecilia Toth, a woman of partly Gentile background, was affronted when the pastor's wife sought to break up her relationship with a Jewish church member. Similarly, Beth Yeshua increasingly insists that congregants live near the Overbrook building. It is such control over members' social and personal lives, as well as their worship, which academics generally ascribe to cults in the making.

The growth of Beth Yeshua, the nationally run Jews for Jesus campaign, and Messianic Judaism in general is partly a function of the rise of religious Fundamentalism in the US. Many Fundamentalists have come to believe that Christ will make his Second Coming at Armageddon.

In their view, biblical prophecy has already been fulfilled in the establishment of the state of Israel, a cause they support with the same devotion as the Jewish Zionists. But some time, nearly 2,000 years ago, Christianity lost its way. For the Second Coming to take place, God's chosen people, the Jews, have to become true believers along with the Gentiles. As a result, they have been funding the evangelical assault on America's Jewish young.

The only note of darkness in services at Beth Yeshua and other Messianic Jewish congregations are references to Armageddon. But this, like everything in the Messianic Jewish tradition, is veiled. Jesus is the Messiah or Yeshua, a comforting Hebrew name, never Christ.

Traditional believers are disturbed by the new group's activities

Autocratic ways of new sect bring protest in Philadelphia

## Dutch quiz Turk on plot to murder Pope

Amsterdam: Dutch police are interviewing a Turkish gunman about his possible links to a group to be tried in Italy today on charges of plotting to assassinate the Pope in 1981.

The public prosecutor for the Rotterdam district, Mr L. van der Laan said there were indications that the pistol found on the Turk, who was arrested during the Pope's visit to the Netherlands, came from the same source as the one used by Mehmet Ali Agca when he shot and wounded the Pope in Rome.

Any links, however, were purely speculative and Mr van der Laan refused to give more details. Speaking by telephone from his home, he confirmed that the Turk was arrested on May 14.

He was entering the country by train from West Germany carrying a loaded Browning automatic pistol. The man, aged about 25, gave his name as Samet Aslan although his identity papers called for him to be false, Mr van der Laan said.

The pistol was similar to the one used by his fellow-Turk, Agca, in the near-fatal attack on the Pope in St Peter's Square on May 13, 1981. Agca, already gaoled for life in Italy, was one of eight men who will go on trial in Rome today accused of conspiring to kill the Pope.

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Rightists accuse government of 'using Victor Hugo' (right) to bolster image

From Stanley Meisler in Paris

FOR FRANCE, 1985 is officially "the year of Victor Hugo." The romantic novelist, poet, playwright, and polemicist died 100 years ago. The election campaign has been embittered by Mr Papandreu's dislike for the New Democracy leader, Mr Constantine Mitsotakis. He regards as a threat to the centre Union Party to which they both belonged before the 1987 military coup.

Mr Mitsotakis was outraged by Mr Papandreu's decision to withdraw support for the former party leader, Mr Constantine Karamanlis, as a candidate for a second term as president and to elect the judge, Mr Christos Sartzetakis, by a procedure which the opposition considers unconstitutional.

During the election campaign, Mr Papandreu has depicted Pasok as the party responsive to the people's will and New Democracy as the servant of the Greek and foreign establishment.

Mr Papandreu has tried to drive New Democracy away from the centre ground in a television speech to a national audience.

That kind of excitement about a writer would be hard to duplicate elsewhere in the world. It reflects the awe and reverence of the French for great authors, and it reflects as well the way Hugo, French writer of the 19th century, made himself the social conscience of his people. His furious tirades against injustice, like those in his famous novel *Les Misérables*, still strike a chord today.

In fact the official designation of 1985 as the year of Victor Hugo by a socialist government strikes as self-serving. They suspect that the Socialists intend to improve their own image by associating themselves with Victor Hugo.

Even on the left there is some uneasiness with the celebrations. "A hundred years after his death, what are we celebrating?", a critic, Mr Jean-Pierre Thibaudet asked in the left-wing newspaper, *Liberation*. "Neither a man nor his work, but an icon. We are celebrating a myth."

It is hard, however, for the French to find any fault with celebrating Victor Hugo. Starting with their earliest school days, every

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**DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR  
REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**  
MINISTRY OF ENERGY AND CHEMICAL  
AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES  
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**NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL  
INVITATION TO TENDER  
No 9160.AY/DIV**

The National Oil Well Company is launching a National and International Call to tender for the supply of:

- Lot No 1 — Workshop for thermal and superficial processing
- Lot No 2 — Laboratory for the preparation of test tubes
- Lot No 3 — Laboratory for mechanical and metallographic tests
- Lot No 4 — Laboratory for chemical analysis
- Lot No 5 — Metrology laboratory
- Lot No 6 — Tool machines
- Lot No 7 — Bench for running in tests and checks on internal combustion engines
- Lot No 8 — A stand for descaling radiators and engine blocks.

This call to tender is addressed to production companies only to the exclusion of subcontractors, company representatives and other intermediaries in accordance with the provisions of law No 78-02 of 11 February 1978 concerning the State Monopoly on Foreign Trade.

Those tenderers who are interested in this call for tenders may obtain specifications, on payment of 400.00 Algerian dinars, from the following address: *Entreprise Nationale des Travaux aux Puits (E.N.T.P.) 16 Route de Meftah — Oued Smar — El Harrach — Alger — Algeria (Direction des Approvisionnements)*, as from the date of publication of this notice.

Tender drawn up in five (5) copies should be sent by registered post in double sealed envelope to the Secretariat of the Direction Approvisionnement to the above address.

The outer envelope should be strictly anonymous, with no company insignia, but stating: *'Appel d'Offres National et International No 9160.AY/DIV — Confidential — a ne pas ouvrir'*.

All offers must arrive by Saturday, 13 July 1985 at the latest.

Selection will be made within 180 days from the closing of this call to tender.



Arab league to seek Russian help in halting arms supplies

## Iranian jets hit back after Iraqis raid Tehran

Bahrain: Iran said that its fighter-bombers attacked the Iraqi town of Al-Amarah yesterday in retaliation for a series of air-raids and missile attacks on Iranian cities. The planes all returned safely to their bases, the Iranian national news agency, Irna, said.

Earlier, Iraq launched air-raids and missile attacks on Iranian cities in a sudden escalation of the 56-month-old Gulf war. Iran threatened to strike back against Baghdad.

The flare-up came as an Arab League delegation, due in Moscow yesterday for talks on the Iran-Iraq war, was expected to press for a halt to Soviet-made arms reaching Iran from Libya and North Korea.

Diplomats in Moscow said that the seven-country delegation, entrusted by the League to seek a diplomatic solution to the conflict, would meet the foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, today. It was not yet known whether it would see the party leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

After a night air-raid on Tehran, which Iran said killed at least six people, and a later raid on the western city of Ilam, the Iraqis sent waves of fighter-bombers against Iranian towns, according to an Iraqi communiqué.

The Iraqis then fired long-range missiles into the western Iranian towns of Bakhran (formerly Kermanshah) and Ilam, according to the communiqué said.

Iran confirmed most of the attacks but said they were against residential areas. At least six people died in the Tehran raid, Iran said, but it was too early to know the casualty toll from the missile attacks.

The Iraqi communiqué said waves of between four and 10 fighter-bombers hit "selected targets" in the Iranian towns of Sar-e-Pole-Zahab, Guilan-e

Gharb and Dehloran as well as military bases in Baneh, Khamah and Marivan. It did not specify what the "selected targets" were.

After the Tehran raid, Iran threatened to attack Baghdad in retaliation as each side accused the other of being behind recent bombings in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Iraq accused Iran of being involved in the murder attempt on the Emir of Kuwait on Saturday, when a suicide car bomber rammed into Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah's motorcade, killing himself and three other people. The Emir escaped with only scratches.

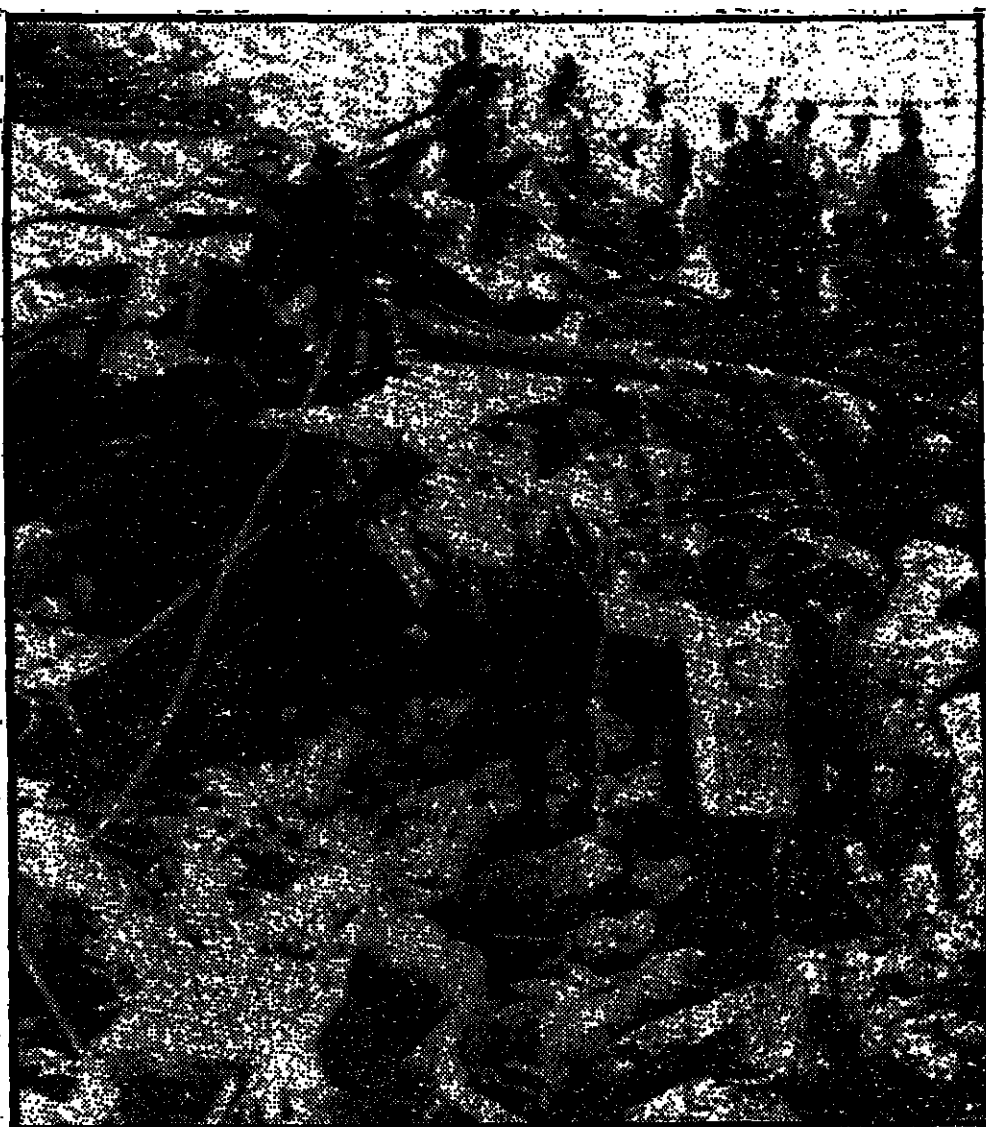
Iran, meanwhile, charged that Baghdad was behind bomb explosions which killed one person in Riyadh, last Sunday while the Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, was visiting Tehran.

He was the first Saudi minister to go to Iran since the 1979 Islamic revolution. The Tehran war information headquarters said that Iraq staged the bombings to warn Saudi Arabia against developing closer ties with Iran.

Yesterday's Iraqi air-raids were the first since early April, when a month-long series of air-raids and missile strikes that left hundreds dead both sides of the border eased off.

The Iranian Prime Minister, Mr. Musavi, told Irna that Iran has repeatedly "punched the US in the mouth" and is ready to do so again. "The US should know that we are capable of turning the Persian Gulf into a bog where the US will sink."

Mr. Musavi noted that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had claimed to oppose attacks during the month of Ramadan but had then gone ahead with yesterday's raids. Reuter/AP.



Rescuers search for bodies in Tehran after the Iraqi raid

## Kuwait reopens border after bomber fails to kill Emir

Kuwait: The Government reopened the country's borders yesterday as security forces sought to identify a suicide bomber who failed in a murder attempt on the country's ruler at the weekend.

"Four people, including the attacker, were killed when he crashed his car, laden with explosives, into the Emir's motorcade on the city waterfront. The Emir, Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, aged 58, escaped with scratches from flying glass."

A government spokesman, Mr. Rashid al-Rashid, said that

the cabinet yesterday reviewed the situation, and an emergency security committee led by the Interior Minister, Mr. Nawaf al-Ahmed al-Sabah, discussed clues to the identity of the bomber.

"The investigation is continuing," he said. "A number of people have been rounded up in the Iraq-Iran war, with Iraqi air and missile attacks on Kuwait centres. Baghdad said that it was in retaliation for what it called Tehran's involvement in the murder attempt."

After closing its borders to non-Kuwaitis after the attack, the government lifted its ban on entering or leaving the country. Mr. al-Rashid said, however, that temporary measures would allow the government to stop some people from leaving.

An anonymous caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad (Holy War) group, which is demanding the release of prisoners held in Kuwait, said he would have bomb-blasts two years ago in the Gulf state, has claimed responsibility for the attack. Reuter.

## Guerrillas step up attacks in south Lebanon

Israel's allies hit as troops prepare for final withdrawal

From Ian Black in Metuliah

Guerrilla attacks are increasing against the Israeli allies left behind to prevent incursions across the border, as Israeli troops prepare for their final withdrawal.

In the past week, guerrillas have struck several times at the South Lebanon Army, led by General Antoine Lahad, from the Christian town of Marjayoun, and at the village militia set up in the narrow border strip that the Israelis have designated as their security zone.

One SLA soldier was killed and two others injured, one seriously, when their patrol came under fire from automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades in the village of Majdal Salim, within the security zone, early yesterday morning.

Another SLA patrol came under fire in the Shiite village of Al-Kham, just across the valley from the Israeli border town of Metuliah.

Beirut radio reported last night that SLA artillery units were shelling Shiite villages near the market town of Nabatiyeh and that the SLA was demanding that the residents abandon their homes. A number of houses were destroyed, the radio said.

According to some assessments, the final stage of the Israeli troop withdrawal is likely to take place this week, several days before the official completion of the three-stage pullout.

Over the last few days, while fighting has raged in Beirut, a number of villages in the Jezzine area, just to the north of the security zone, have been evacuated by the Israelis and turned over to the SLA.

General Lahad, whose forces beat back the combined Shiite-Druse attack west of Jezzine earlier this month, have been trying to persuade the Israelis to guarantee continuity between the Christian town and the security zone, but the Israelis are thought to be resisting this.

The government in Jerusalem has said that the pullback will be over by June 5, the third anniversary of the start of the war in 1982, and that no Israeli troops will remain permanently in Lebanon after then.

Military sources say, however, that the final stage of the withdrawal will not be clear cut like the first Israeli troop pullback from the Sidon area, and then, last month, from the front lines opposite the Syrian army in the Bekaa valley and the heavily populated Shiite area around the port city of Tyre.

This crucial difference is borne out by local security

sources and observation of Israeli movements and dispositions in the border area.

There has already been a good deal of official ambiguity from the politicians and the military about how totally the withdrawal will be implemented.

The Defence Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, has spoken of "backing" for the SLA and occasional patrols in the area. Some Israeli military installations—and therefore some troops—are going to stay put for the time being.

It is not clear exactly who has been responsible for the recent attacks against the SLA and the militias. Israeli military sources say that the main Shi'ite militia movement is now in effective control of the area north of the security zone, and has a strong hold on Nabatiyeh and Tyre.

The Israelis are encouraged by the fact that Amal has been unable to prevent Palestinian fighters, from the mainstream Fatah organisation and the Syrian-backed rebels of the Abu Musa group, from returning to the south.

They say—and other independent observers allow for a degree of wishful thinking in this assessment—that the series of recent attacks have come from "extremists" who have managed to bypass Amal forces.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Safety net for stray jets

THE US, the Soviet Union and Japan have been holding talks on air safety in an effort to prevent incidents such as the downing in 1983 of a Korean airliner by a Soviet fighter, the New York Times said yesterday.

The newspaper, quoting US officials, said some progress had been made in the latest talks, which ended on Friday in Moscow. Earlier talks were held in Tokyo and in Washington in March.

The talks were aimed at obtaining assurances that stray civilian planes would not be shot down and that all efforts would be made to improve communications between the three countries. The Times said the State Department had no comment on the report. Reuter.

### Frontier pledge

THE West German Interior Minister, Mr. Friedrich Zimmermann, said yesterday that Germany would not mean that Bonn recognised their post-war boundaries. Ratification of present frontiers would have to await the signing of a peace treaty between the four former occupying powers—the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France—and a reunited Germany, he said. Reuter.

### French missing

TWO Frenchmen disappeared shortly after arriving from Paris and are thought to have been kidnapped, colleagues said yesterday. Jean-Paul Kaufmann, a journalist with the French newspaper L'Express, said he had seen the two men, Michel Senechal and Michel Senechal, who works for a Lebanese-French research centre, have not been seen since Wednesday. Eight other Westerners abducted over the past 14 months are still missing. Reuter.

### Hunter ejected

THE Nam hunter, Beat Klarsfeld, searching for death-camp doctor Josef Mengele in Paraguay, says she has been thrown out of her hotel in the capital, Asuncion, for "offending the Paraguayan people." Newspapers there and in the Chilean capital, Santiago, published advertisements offering \$2,375,000 for information on the whereabouts of Mengele, said by Paraguay to have left the country years ago. Reuter.

### 'Spy' flown back

THE US Navy has flown the accused sailor spy, 22-year-old Seaman Michael Walker, to the United States, where he is being held over to his father, a retired Navy officer, top secret military documents for the Soviet Union. FBI agents took the sailor, who was on board the nuclear-powered submarine USS Nimitz in Israel, to an undisclosed destination. Reuter.

### Dallas suit

DONNA REED, replaced by Barbara Bel Geddes as the long-suffering Mrs. Ellie in the television series Dallas, is suing the makers for \$8.6 million in damages and salary losses because of the slandering of her character. A Los Angeles judge refused at the weekend a request by the 63-year-old actress's lawyers to issue a temporary order banning the filming of scenes in which Mrs. Ellie appears. Reuter.

### Goldsmith truce

CROWN Zellerbach yesterday gave a seat on its board of directors to Sir James Goldsmith as part of an apparent truce in the British financier's long takeover battle against the big San Francisco-based forest products company. The two sides also announced a suspension of all litigation between them. Reuter.

### Curbs going

TURKEY's national security council yesterday recommended the lifting of martial law in six provinces, including Ankara, as part of the gradual ending of curbs since elections in 1983. But it proposed extending martial law for four months in 17 other provinces from July 19. AP.

### Basques strike

BASQUE separatist guerrillas yesterday burned down a French-owned supermarket in the northern Spanish city of Zaragoza, causing widespread damage but no injuries. But police said guerrillas shot dead a policeman in Bilbao. Reuter.

### Volcano alert

US scientists have issued a volcano alert at Mount St. Helens, south-east of Seattle, warning that an eruption of relatively minor force was expected soon. The warning came five years after 200 people died in a violent eruption. Reuter.

## Talks on commandos rejected

Lasada: The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr. Alfonso van Dunen, has rejected a South African call for quick negotiations over the return of a South African commando unit captured at an oil complex in northern Angola.

The false and deceitful position of South Africa towards Angola has once again come to light in this ignominious plan to sabotage the oil complex at Malongo in Cabinda," Mr. Van Dunen said in a speech at weekend ceremonies marking the twenty-second anniversary of the founding of the Organisation of African Unity.

"We hereby express our most vehement condemnation of this vile act... a shameful plan (South African authorities could not deny," the Minister said. He demanded an explanation from South Africa.

"The Angolan government notes that it has not received any proposal from South Africa and has no intention of discussing this question within the next few days," he said.

Two South African commandos were killed in an ambush near the Malongo complex last Tuesday and a third, captured, was killed in a separate incident. The Angolan Defence Ministry later announced that provisions for nine had been recovered by Angolan troops at the scene, leading them to believe that six other commandos may have escaped.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr. P. Botha, last week called for direct negotiations with the Angolans for the return of the bodies of the two dead commandos and the release of their captured colleague.

Meanwhile, three South African blacks were killed and 11 other people, including two white women, were injured during widespread overnight unrest in black townships, police said in Johannesburg yesterday. A spokesman said a black policeman attacked by rioters in Tembisa township north of Johannesburg used his pistol to kill one and injure another before he was stabbed to death.

In Welkom, Orange Free State province, a policeman investigating a robbery killed a 25-year-old black who pelted him with stones and attempted to stab him.

At a township near Oudshoorn in Cape Province, seven black children and a man were hurt when arsonists set their house on fire, the spokesman said. Police arrested 38 township residents after using rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse protesters.

The two white women were hurt when rioters stoned vehicles travelling near Bontrug township in the Cape. Rioting was also reported from Natal Province, which has been relatively quiet over the past year of unrest. The spokesman said five houses were set on fire at a township near Durban. Reuter-AP.

## Gandhi returns from Moscow as all police leave cancelled

From Eric Silver in New Delhi

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, returned home from Moscow yesterday to a capital where all police leave has been cancelled for the next two weeks to combat terrorism.

It is almost a year since the assault on the Sikh holies, the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Sikh extremists have threatened to mar the occasion with terrorist attacks. Public meetings of more than five people have been banned and police reserves have been mobilised.

The anniversary falls next Monday. The army and police have already been put on full alert in the Sikh-majority state of Punjab where reinforcements have also been drafted.

There has been no repetition of the bombings that killed 45 civilians here and another 40 elsewhere in Northern India two weeks ago, but the police are still detaining Sikh suspects amid persistent charges of brutal interrogation methods.

A second young man, Mohinder Singh, died in custody on Friday. A police spokesman claimed that he had hanged himself with his turban wrapping after being escorted to the lavatory.

In Punjab, the relatively

moderate Sikh leader, Mr. Harchand Singh Longowal, last night withdrew his resignation as president of the Akali Dal party. This gives veteran politicians a chance to fight back against the take-over of the main Sikh party by Mr. Jopinder Singh, the 33-year-old father of the "martyr", Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who died when the army stormed the Golden Temple.

Mr. Longowal at first resisted all efforts to persuade him to stay on, but yielded when 22 district Akali elders visited him in his home village and presented him with the ultimatum: "Take a gun and shoot, or accept the presidency."

It is not known, however, whether Mr. Longowal can now reassert his authority which has waned since he surrendered in the Golden Temple last year instead of going down fighting.

If not, there can be little prospect of a peaceful settlement to Sikh grievances in the foreseeable future. The government cannot seal an agreement without the Akalis. The risk is that it may not be able to seal one with the Akalis either.

Caste and communal violence rumbles on in the west, an area of Gujarat that is the scene of reports of stabbings

and murder. A six-year-old girl was killed in Ahmedabad on Saturday night when a police bullet, said to have been fired in self-defence, penetrated the closed door of her house. Beena Jhala was playing with her younger brother in their two-room tenement. According to a senior police officer, the shot had been fired to disperse a mob stoning a patrol 100 yards away. Another mob set fire to a post office in Ahmedabad yesterday after the girl's funeral.

Pressure is growing here for an Indian initiative to help solve the ethnic conflict that is going from bad to worse in neighbouring Sri Lanka.

Mr. Gandhi was asked on his return from Moscow about speculation that he was planning an early meeting with President Julius Jayewardene. He replied that he would have to discuss the matter with his officials first.

Sri Lankan diplomats hinted yesterday that a decision would be announced in the next two or three days. According to Indian press reports, Mr. Jayewardene wants a meeting somewhere in south India rather than in Delhi. Mr. Gandhi leaves for a tour of America, France, Egypt, Algeria on June 1, which leaves very little time.

He said that security forces fighting for a Tamil state had been killed in two encounters with security forces at Nilaveli last Wednesday and Thursday.

In Colombo, police and troops searched homes in several mainly Tamil areas at the weekend and held more than 200 people for questioning. Most of them were later released, the spokesman said.

The Government has strongly denied reports from residents in eastern areas a week ago that more than 60 Tamil civilians had been killed by commandos. Reuter.

## Assembly goes on offensive

From Alex Brodie in Islamabad

PAKISTAN's first elected National Assembly in eight years has gone straight into the offensive against martial law and demanded that it be lifted.

Several motions declaring martial law a breach of parliamentary privilege were tabled and accepted by the Speaker, and the Prime Minister who has been told that the assembly expects him to guarantee the lifting of martial law in the next week or so, a firm timetable for the end of military rule.

Yesterday's session of the National Assembly was the first chance for the members to show their teeth. Several wanted to put motions that martial law was a violation of privilege, but the Law Minister said they were out of order.

However, the Speaker, Mr. Fakhrul Islam, cited historical precedent, some from 17th century England, to demonstrate the right of a directly elected assembly to control all financial aspects of the state, including spending on martial law, whose "objectives and purposes are not approved by or under the control of this House."

It was decided to set up a privilege committee that would discuss the matter and report back within a week and a full airing of anti-martial law sentiment is in prospect.

Earlier most members met the Prime Minister and told him that vague promises of lifting martial law in months were not enough. They expected him to announce a firm timetable and they expected it this session.

The Prime Minister said that martial law and a civilian government could not co-exist for long—a remark which was construed from the television account of his speech.



Students being pushed by plain clothes police on to a bus in Seoul, South Korea, yesterday after occupying the US information library for three days. The students demanded that the US stop supporting President Chun's government.

## Inquiry on Tamil victims

Colombo: Sri Lankan authorities said that security forces shot dead at least five Tamil civilians at the Nilaveli tourist resort north of Trincomalee.

He said men in khaki and blue uniforms, believed to be members of the armed forces, killed seven Tamil civilians, including one of his sons last Thursday.

Two of the bodies were missing and the remaining five were handed over to relatives after an autopsy.

The government spokesman said the reports were being investigated but he knew of no civilian deaths in the area in the past few days.

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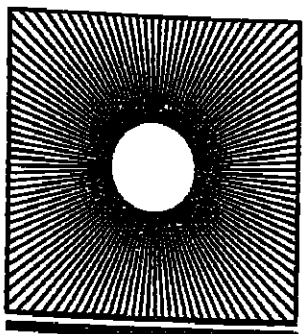
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# Exploring the spectrum that illuminates belief



## FACE TO FAITH

John York

IT IS SAD that in the public mind recently questions of intellectual belief seem to have become detached from the whole nexus of prayer, action, commitment and community to which they properly belong.

The point was made to me with brutal directness by a TV interviewer, quizzing me in preparation for a possible programme on the theme "What is a Christian?" I started explaining to him the many dimensions of religious commitment: an intellectual dimension certainly, but also large components of feeling, deep-rooted symbolism, stories which echo in the subconscious. Then there is the ethical dimension and the social one; the realm of ritual action, public and private, and those inner experiences which differ so star-

tlingly from one person to another. I started to spell out some of the complex interactions between those different dimensions; how some people find the most compelling spiritual reality in sacramental worship, how for others it is the sense of the intimate personal relationship with Jesus which is all important. For some the content of religion is largely ethical. For others it is social, a question of belonging rather than being or doing. The permutations are endless, which is why there is no one simple answer to the question "What is a Christian?" "That's all very well," said my interviewer, "but what viewers really want to know is whether a Christian has to believe in the Virgin Birth." How can one explain that

this narrowing down of the many-sidedness of faith to a single issue about the precise form of certain doctrinal statements, is to do precisely what the crowds in Jerusalem wanted? "Give us a simple answer, to a simple question, tell us whether your teaching is true." Of course, plain answers and simple truths are important. Of course, the controversies of recent months have been about substantial issues. The point needs to be made again and again that the Christian faith is rooted in history, in what God has actually done, and there can be no valid faith which discounts or undermines this. But there can be no valid faith either if we lose sight of what all our expressions of Christian belief are actually for—not to fill our

minds with a certain style of mental furniture, but to relate us to God. "If anyone chooses to do God's will, he will find out whether my teachings come from God..." (John 7:17). What St John's Gospel describes for us is a search, an adventure, an argument which moves first this way, then that; a respect for actual experience, out of which emerges, often slowly and painfully, deeper knowledge of God. It is not the kind of knowledge which can somehow be read from an authoritative formula. Its authority emerges with it, through the process of questioning and hearing and responding.

One of the greatest contemporary expositors of St John, C. K. Barrett, has described the gospel's theology as dialectical. It is full of contrasts, oppositions, paradoxes. Those who think they see, are blind, blessed are those who have seen also are those who have not seen, and yet believe. This constant moving between affirmation and denial is not just a peculiarity of St John's method. It is an authentic insight into the nature of Christian truth. So how do we convey this reality in an age which finds it hard to believe? I have already said that directness, simplicity, certainty, straight answers to straight questions, are not to be despised. But I suspect that the fundamental disagreement in our church today concerns the ambience of simplicity and directness. It is right to expect.

Controversies over the precise historical interpretation of particular doctrines may sway the argument this way or that. But the real difference lies between those with a questioning, exploratory faith, and those who hold that essentially all the answers have already been given. Even that is putting it too simply. Even the most questioning faith is more than a list of questions; it has to be a response to and an exploration of what God has actually done, a dialectic between Yes and No. And even the most unquestioning faith has to allow room for discovery unless it is to lose the sense of the life-giving work of the Spirit. As always, we are faced with a spectrum of attitudes not with two utterly opposed viewpoints. Nevertheless there is a difference and it is important to recognise it. And it is important for those who have expectations of the clergy to ask themselves what in the end they want from them. Do we want to be made into explorers or into recipients? And which approach is likely to lead us deeper into the knowledge of God?

If we answer, as I believe St John answers, that we have to be explorers, then maybe we can go on from there to see the differences between Christians as all part of a larger, deeper, which will eventually bring both sides to a more authentic faith. Dr John Habgood is the Archbishop of York. This is an edited extract from a sermon delivered in St Paul's Cathedral, London, on May 22.



Earlier forms of service may be made to look positively benevolent by the subordination into which we are now being pressed

## Hard times in Mrs T's service

JEREMY SEABROOK

DURING the current long phase of mass unemployment there has been much speculation about the kind of work — if any — that is to replace the decayed traditional patterns of employment in Britain. The official version of those who, for the moment at least, control our destiny, insists that if we permit market forces to run their benign course unhindered, our reward will be abundant opportunity in something mysteriously called "the tertiary sector," the development of "service industries." These agreeable euphemisms do not stress precisely what it is into the service of which we are to be recruited.

And yet the nature of the "new" master we are bidden to serve should come as no surprise. For this government has performed for us at least one major act of kindness. It has swept away the decorous fiction that the economy exists to serve humanity, and has made it plain that the economy is a self-sustaining end in itself, with a life and vitality which mere human beings must not be permitted to disturb with their importunate needs.

The Thatcher years have seen the tearing of the veils shrouding the nature of the capitalist economy, veils in no small measure laboriously and obligingly spun by those who once declared themselves the implacable opponents of the capitalist system. Our function and purpose in the era now beginning, in the vacuum left by the decline of manufacturing industry, is to be pressed into the service of the autonomous economy.

They have made no bones about it, our Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who have tirelessly urged us to observe how the economy has responded to their healing touch. Nowhere else in all their utterances do they plain that the economy is a self-sustaining end in itself, with a life and vitality which mere human beings must not be permitted to disturb with their importunate needs.

the robustness, the clean bill of health, the remission won for what once looked like the "sick man of Europe" even though radical surgery may have been necessary. That this inflated rhetoric can be summoned to describe a society in which four million people are without work, and eight million are dependent upon supplementary benefit, can give no clearer evidence that the economy exists for itself alone, and that the well-being of people is subordinate: even if it sometimes seems, quite unrelated, to its majestic imperatives.

The briefest survey of the language used to evoke economic issues will show the extent to which the economy has been anthropomorphised. Every day the markets are described in the press in terms of human emotions. Now they are nervous, now sensitive, now hesitant, now steady. They are jittery, they are voluble. Sometimes they show concern. The same transference of human attributes occurs in those bulletins on the state of the pound or the dollar. The pound had a good day;

the pound is ailing; the dollar is buoyant; the pound — like the notices pinned to the palace railings — is sinking fast. Competitors take advantage of our weakness; the economy responds; our hopes and disappointments depend upon its caprice: these are no longer metaphors of health and sickness, but are rather the language of love.

All this reassuring imagery no doubt serves to make intelligible those mysterious forces set over us. Our reverence for these abstractions might not matter so much if its obverse were not equally glaring — that is, the voiding of the human content of those terms of economic discourse that have to do with the real, tangible sufferings of living flesh and blood. Poverty, unemployment, labour costs, rationalisation, de-skilling — all sounds, what fitting objects for study by academics and economists; how remote from our real concerns.

Once we have accepted this bizarre inversion, we are bound to accept everything that our human subservience to these processes may demand. Perhaps this is why so many people have the curious sense of being not only powerless, but spectators of their own impotence, as cancer wards close, as old people die because they can't afford fuel, as the lives of kidney patients are bridged for want of treatment.

We are fascinated, although quite unable to intervene, when people are discovered to be living in cardboard boxes on the Embankment, or a family is found in the chassis of a derelict car abandoned in a lay-by. We discover we must assent to the necessity of people earning a living on a rubbish-tip in Birkenhead, we must register outrage at the blind acts of violence and vandalism of those young people who strike vainly against the total power that can find no place for them; we must reconcile ourselves to the wasting away of half a generation.

Equally, we must regard, not as aberrant, but as quite normal, that even while people perish, strange new products flood the markets: novel foodstuffs, spun out of chemicals, tempting new delights like mange-tout from Guatemala and pineapples from the Ivory Coast, skin-cleansers made of apricots, shampoos of balsam and avocado, cat foods of salmon and turkey, sunken spa baths and electric woks; just as we eagerly welcome those "real jobs" that furnish our civilisation with such refinements as kissograms, pornography and junk food.

Who knows what twinges and bendings of the human substance may be necessary in this sublime service? We cannot say that we haven't been warned... and by Mrs Thatcher herself, that prohibition, she seems to have been at pains to demonstrate to the people what Karl Marx vainly sought to draw to our attention many years ago; although she has done so, not in order that we should be shocked by capitalism's enduring and rapacious disregard for humanity, but rather that we may admire the grace, mystery and wisdom of so unalterable and benign a phenomenon, into the service of which it is an honour to enter.

But the subordination into which we are now being pressed may make earlier forms of service look positively benevolent. In the masters' feeling the calves and biceps of their labourers in the pit-ward before taking them on may seem mild task-masters by comparison; the farmers at the annual hiring looking for unspeakably country girls unlikely to ask for suits and beer as part of their wages, may appear paragons of charity; the employers of those young women sent out of the exhausted Welsh valleys for domestic service in London may by contrast seem the most considerate of masters. For service is always being reconstituted in one guise or another.

This time, it corresponds to a moment of capitalist restructuring and regeneration when the release from dirty and dangerous manufacturing industries may dispose us to welcome as liberation new and unfamiliar forms of servitude. Indeed, the language of liberation has been heard once more in our time, just as it was at the time of the industrial revolution.

But we should be under no illusion: human liberation, then as now, has nothing to do with the liberation of the autonomous economy. Whereas Mrs Thatcher's ideological forbears sought to free the economy from the shackles of earlier paternalistic constraints, this time it is to be set free from the awkward obstacles erected in its path by the best endeavours of the labour movement. The object, however, remains constant: liberation of the sombre and comfortable imperatives of money from the tiresome fetters of human sentiment.

So Kinnoch and his allies, old and new, should beware of treating the Left with the old-style leaders' arrogance, and of attempting to drive it into the political wilderness. Labour is not yet a socialist party, or even a party of socialists. But socialists, active and committed, now form a large section of its membership, and make up the core of the campaigning Left. They will not accept being either abused or ignored.

Anthony Arblaster is the chairperson of the Socialist Society.

## Pym's bite at the apple of lost innocence

Alfred Sherman

AS AN essay in re-writing history to suit current political convenience, the do-it-yourself mythopoeia by Francis Pym and Sir Ian Gilmour is chaste compared to Livy and Tacitus, the Book of Ruth and the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Yet inasmuch as they evoke renewed critical interest in Conservative history, traditions, values and ideas, good may yet result.

This should not interest only Conservatives. What Conservatives think and do affects everyone in this country. Precisely because Tories/Conservatives have been the most apolitical of parties during most of their history, they were bound to assimilate more ideas and attitudes than they imparted in the course of their reaction to and interaction with other parties and currents.

For most of its history, Tory/Conservatism was an elusive and ill-defined rather than intellectual and explicit. It did not generate values but embodied existing ones. Whereas the Whig Party created and defended the Whig Settlement, and the Labour Party was created in order to implement a programme based on pre-formed ideas, the Tory/Conservatives picked up ideas and commitments en route, and shed them as circumstances dictated.

The Tories began as Jacobites. Then they re-emerged as diehard supporters of the Hanoverian monarchy and Church of England, damning Catholics and dissenters together with suffrage reformers. Then, when universal suffrage seemed inevitable, they accepted it with resignation.

Presentation of nineteenth century Tories as proto-socialists by re-writers and quotationeers like Sir Ian Gilmour is caricature and anachronism. The idea that the state had a duty to provide for its citizens' material welfare had no purchase in Britain until the late nineteenth century. Chartists excepted.

Mercantilism, far from being a forerunner of welfare economics or socialism, had been central to the economy since the dawn of time. It treated economics, like war, as an extension of national policy by other means, sustaining private economic "welfare" to national greatness. The anti-mercantilist revolution of Hume and Smith, which asserted the rights of private well-being against public strength and splendour, was a consequence of the Glorious Revolution and Whig Settlement, which downgraded the state as against autonomous civil society.

Tories experienced no difficulty in accommodating the market. Their main concerns had been constitutional and religious. Though Mr Heath et al speak disparagingly of "nineteenth century liberalism," and equate Thatcherism with it, it was precisely nineteenth century liberals who swung from laissez-faire to state involvement. The transition from Chadwick, Cobden, and Bright to Lloyd George was seamless. Labour took off from there.

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## Labour's very own moving right show

Anthony Arblaster

NO DOUBT about it, this is a peculiarly difficult moment for the Left in Britain. The miners' strike, a brave struggle ended without the victory for which so many had worked so hard; and soon Mrs Thatcher was boasting (in the Far East) about her famous victory over "the enemy within."

Then the agreed strategy of concerted resistance to rate-capping steadily fell apart, beginning when one of the Left's brightest stars, Ken Livingstone, suddenly backed away from direct confrontation with the Government and its laws. Yet, remarkably, it is not the Government which appears to be benefitting from these setbacks for the Left. The nation is turning away from the Prime Minister's over more strident and self-congratulatory style of government. Labour enjoys a lead in the opinion polls and did well in the shire county elections — even in the south, where it had suppo-

edly been wiped out altogether in 1983. Thatcher has, of course, never commanded anything like majority support from the voters and it was only the fatal division of the non-Tory electorate which gave her that inflated parliamentary majority two years ago. Clearly the only way to avoid a repetition of that disaster in 1987 and 1988 is through a substantial Labour recovery, which now seems to be beginning. Every socialist must hope that it continues.

Or would do, if it were not for the price which socialists themselves are expected to pay for it. It is increasingly clear what the Labour leadership judges to be the necessary condition of the return to electoral credibility: the isolation and neutralisation of the Left both inside and outside the party.

They see the defeat of the miners, the humiliation of Arthur Scargill, and the apparent defection of Ken Livingstone, as providing a golden opportunity to marginalise the Left and discredit its leading figures — above all, of course, Tony Benn. This is the real substance

of recent articles about "realignment" on the Left. As Livingstone shrewdly pointed out, when invited to identify himself with this process, "realignment" has a context of exclusion. And a context of a new dominance within that.

Just so. There is to be a closing of ranks around and in support of the Labour leadership. Those who refuse to take the new loyalty oath are to be cast into the outer darkness of sectarianism and extremism. All this must look like a wonderfully attractive scenario to Kinnoch, Hattersley, and those who plan to ride back to office (if not power) in their wake. As an election of 1981, when Benn came within a whisker of becoming the Deputy Leader, and of 1984-5, when Scargill held the centre stage while Neil Kinnoch hovered uneasily in the wings—all these can now be forgotten. Labour is now returning to its old law-abiding paths of constitutionalism and respectability.

Anyone with any knowledge of Labour's history knows that we have been here before. As an election looms closer there is always a kind of "realignment," a closing of ranks in support of the party itself. This is perfectly understandable, and, indeed, sensible. There is only one snag. The realignment is always a move to the right. It is always the Left which is expected to sacrifice its commitments.



## There's one law for the rich and for criminals — but none for the honest poor



Polly Toynbee

THE Lambeth Law Centre offices, are cramped, dingy, and inadequate — hardly room to swing a brief, and a far cry from the salubrious and solemn offices of private solicitors. Piles of files and books, shelves stacked with legal tomes, line the low-ceilinged boxrooms. Clients huddle by the door, and overflow into rooms where the telephones ring incessantly. The staff are working frantically to clear the most urgent cases before the centre closes. Many of the cases will be left in the air for people to struggle along with on their own.

Lambeth's two law centres will close at the end of the month. Thirty-three more centres will have shut by the end of the year, some in a few months' time. The rest of the country's 55 centres are unlikely to survive beyond two years unless the Lord Chancellor's department recognises that these services are an essential part of Britain's failing legal system.

Upstairs, in a small dark corner, Anna T was discussing her case with one of the centre's solicitors. She was indignant at what had happened to her. She showed the

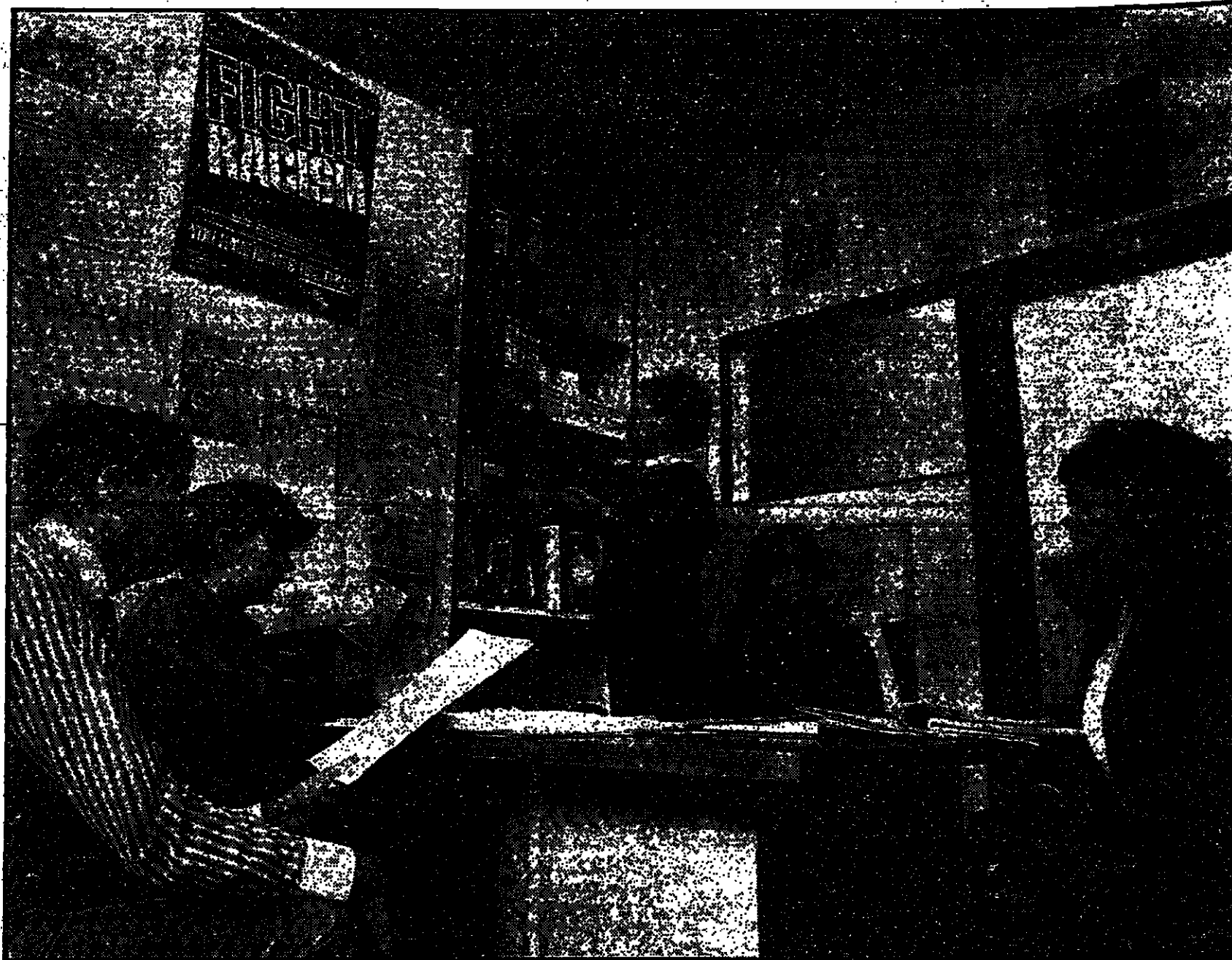
letter she had received from her employer, summarily dismissing her because she had just had a baby. She had taken her 18 weeks' maternity leave, as agreed, and was just preparing to return to her job in a large office, when the letter of dismissal arrived. It had an unpleasantly patronising turn of phrase: "We believe it would not be satisfactory from our point of view, or yours, as your first consideration would be, quite rightly, your baby's welfare. I would suggest you seriously consider getting a job much closer to your home or even doing some typing at home."

Her case is due to come before an employment tribunal, which is supposed to be less formal and legally confusing than a court. But the mass of complex employment law makes it as much of a maze for non-lawyers as any court. Her employers will be represented by a barrister and a solicitor while she, with no money, can afford no representation. Legal aid is not paid for representation at tribunals. The only place she could turn was to the Law Centre.

But by the time her case gets to the tribunal (waiting time about three months), this law centre will have closed. Anna T will be on her own. At least she will have her file and the information she has been given about her rights. Those who come after her will have nothing but their own wits to depend on.

Like many Law Centres' clients, Anna was referred here by a Citizens Advice Bureau. Difficult legal cases of this kind often cannot be handled by the volunteers in advice centres who can only give information on rights of a more general kind.

Mrs W. came to the centre about an arbitrary cut that



Picture of the Salford Law Centre by Denis Thorpe

had been made in her social security pay. A frail woman in her late sixties, she had recently moved flat, and found her special heating allowance and her special diet allowance had been taken away. She suffered a serious complaint that needed a low fat, high fruit and vegetable diet. Letters had gone forwards and backwards between the Law Centre and the DSS. Before taking her to an appeal hearing, the centre had managed to get an independent surveyor's report, stating her new flat was harder, not easier, to heat, and a doctor's report stressed her bad state of health. They won the appeal, and the money was returned to her. "I could never have done all that on my own. That

extra money makes all the difference. I've never been to a solicitor before in my life," she said.

Most of the nation's law centres are now under threat because neither the Department of the Environment, nor the Lord Chancellor's department, will accept responsibility for them.

The centres, employing a mixture of solicitors, barristers and trained legal advisers, make a valiant attempt at delivering legal services to the poorest and most vulnerable people who, without legal aid, have no way to assert their rights.

They defend the non-unions against unfair dismissal by their employers, the homeless against unlawful

eviction by their landlords, immigrants against the arbitrary application of immigration laws, and the great mass of welfare recipients against the steamroller of the state.

Each year they represent more than 370,000 people — still a fraction of those denied legal services. The Law Centres Federation says that 500 Law Centres would be needed to cover all those who cannot go to solicitors because their cases do not qualify for legal aid. Now the Government is to remove even this frail safety net.

It is not so much a matter of one law for the rich and another for the poor, but one for the rich, the divorcing, and criminals and none at all for the non-criminal poor.

Legal aid will cover divorce and crime, both lucrative areas that ordinary solicitors are glad to take on. But there is no legal aid for all those matters of crucial importance to the poor. They cannot be represented by lawyers at social security, rent, employment, or immigration hearings, because these are supposed to be informal. Yet the other side — the employers, the landlords, the state — have its lawyers against whom the defenceless are supposed to be able to argue.

Law Centres are themselves a symptom of the way in which legal services in the country are often denied to those in most need of asserting their feeble rights. Our legal system is something akin to the American health

system. Private practitioners can claim quite hefty profits from the legal aid fund to cover certain types of cases, with total neglect of less profitable cases. Legal aid is an extravagant way to provide such a service, that would be far more cheaply delivered by employing salaried lawyers directly to look after people's rights. To some extent, with proper independence, Law Centres attempt to do this, but there are not enough of them to claim to be a full integral part of our legal system.

Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, has made it clear that he is determined that there should be no such network and certainly not funded by his department. Hailsham said in the House of

Lords, "The Law Centres are not part of the Lord Chancellor's department. They are part of the urban programme and therefore come clearly within another department." Until now, the Department of the Environment has indeed funded many of them under its urban aid programme. But now urban aid has been cut, and what remains is being redirected towards projects that generate inner city jobs. In any case, this is clearly a fundamental issue of law, and therefore must belong to the Lord Chancellor's own department.

Hailsham has done the same in refusing to fund the conciliation services for divorcing couples. They save far more money than they cost by diverting warring couples from hiring their own expensive legally aided solicitors and bringing them to agreement without wasting court time and solicitors' fees. It seems he regards such services as messy social policies and not as good clean adversarial law, which begins and ends inside the walls of the Temple.

There should be a complete overhaul of the way the law is delivered to people in this country, the way it is funded and administered. Law Centres as they are currently financed and organised are weak, somewhat toothless hand-aid solution, without the money, the time, the space they need to handle the often overwhelming number of urgent cases sent to them. But until we have a fair legal aid system available to all who need it, a national network of Law Centres, centrally funded by the Lord Chancellor's department, is the least we should provide to protect the defenceless in their dealings with those tribunals which have become such a tangle of legal complexity for ordinary people.

Christopher Reed reports from San Francisco on the confusion spread among American reformers by the extraordinary case of Cathleen Webb

## Did the woman lie when she said she was raped, or when she said she wasn't?

WHETHER or not Cathleen Webb was lying and Gary Dotson was wrongly imprisoned for allegedly raping her, the outcome of this curious case in Chicago brings only bad news for reformers of US rape laws.

The revisionists are already using it to call into doubt the achievements in police investigations and trial procedures in the last decade. Mrs Webb has "made a fool of the law and a fool of the women's movement," says Susan Brownmiller, author of the definitive 1975 work on rape, *Against Our Will*.

Although Gary Dotson, now 26, has been discharged from prison after serving six years of a 25-50 year sentence, the

Governor of Illinois who released him, rejected a pardon. The Judge, who earlier reviewed Mrs Webb's recantation of her evidence, sent him back to jail.

Mrs Webb, now 23 and the mother of two children, was questioned at the prisoner review board and heard for five hours by the Governor of Illinois, James Thompson, a former federal prosecutor. He seemed sceptical of her story, concluding only that "no useful purpose would be served by keeping Mr Dotson locked up."

If Mr Dotson is innocent, things are almost as bad. As a convicted felon he is still

denied certain citizens' rights and still has to bear the stigma of guilt in spite of his and his accuser's insistence of his innocence. That is why he is now seeking a re-trial, a process opposed by Illinois, which could risk heavy damages if he were formally acquitted. The case is a difficult one, and we will be hearing more of it, not least from opponents of feminism.

Typical was the response of Midge Decter, an author and frequent critic of feminism. She said: "It has occurred to me, as I'm sure it has to many men, that rape has become a special crime that does not require the same standards of evidence that other crimes do."

It was inevitable there would be a gross miscarriage of justice sooner or later. All the emphasis on rape lately, with the great billing of standard of evidence, has gone to another extreme.

Charles Nesson, Professor of law at Harvard University and a specialist in rules of evidence, rejected Ms Decter's argument. "It's obvious she has never sat through the old rape trials where the abuse of the victim, was extreme. It's hardly a point of controversy by now that rape shield laws are a necessary aid to rape victims, and a fair trial."

The irony as far as Mr Dotson

is concerned is that under the old procedures he would almost certainly have been acquitted. Victims, as well as being openly identified, were subjected to defence interrogation about their "morals". Evidence of previous sexual experience or suggestion of "leading on" her attacker, almost always led to a not guilty verdict. Just as in some states would instruct the jury to acquit.

Mrs Webb, now a born-again Christian, was 16 at the time of the alleged rape. She told Governor Thompson she was "sexually promiscuous", took drugs, and was often in trouble in those days. She made up her accusation, she said, because

she had sex with her boyfriend and feared she was pregnant. By claiming rape, she could absolve herself of the blame to her family. She made up a description and failed to intervene when police decided to matched Dotson.

Various inconsistencies in her present story seem to have denied Mr Dotson a pardon. Forensic evidence cast doubt on Mrs Webb's claim to have had sex with her boyfriend at the time. Another cause for doubt was her tentative identification of an accomplice in a police line-up. He turned out to be a close friend of Mr Dotson. This might fit in with Dotson's former cell mate's version that Dotson had said

the incident happened at a party when Mrs Webb, disoriented from drugs, was with three men in a bedroom.

Perhaps nobody but the two concerned will ever know what really happened, but revisionists are insisting that it is now too easy for a woman falsely to accuse a man of rape. Statistics show that reports of rape have doubled since 1970, convictions have increased, and present sentences are often worse than for murder in spite of anonymity and more sensitive police procedures. But it is estimated that at least half the crimes are not reported to police.

Most cases are not restricted

to the woman's uncorroborated word against the man's, and studies have shown that the accuser is no more likely to lie in rape cases than in other crimes. An estimated 2 per cent recant their testimony. Yet the publicity surrounding the Webb-Dotson case — including a Senate committee hearing — has taken away the idea that false accusations are more common.

This is the major worry among feminists. Says Ms Brownmiller, "Obviously it is going to be fresh in the mind of rape victims and investigators, as well as people on juries. The problem is that we always fix on cases that are radical exceptions."

**Turning an Honest Penny**

Times have been tough in Tresoddit... for Kevin Penwallet, ex-lecturer in anthropology....

Lean season has followed lean season... and, in the end, even the ideals of strong men, bow to the prevailing economic draught....

See, Kevin... you got to consider what the visitors really WANT!

For NATURE is everywhere! All over the tea towels & cosies & oven gloves & scatter cushions & mob-capped jars of preserves....

The Fo'c'sle & Gifts

...All over the sets of plates... & little hand-bells & figurines... and even the slate pictures, which Kevin, against his better nature, creates himself....

0 God! 0 God!

And Kevin's better nature does revolt! ME! ME of all people...!! Perpetrating the MYTH!! This MYTH, which excludes TRUTH... Excludes any REALITY... of the HARSHNESS of Nature and Country Life!

Oh God! Oh God!

Announcing a most important porcelain plate collection....

**THE PENWALLET PLATES**

The Brilliant Beauty of our Ceramic Plates, renowned in finest porcelain, by one of Europe's master craftsmen!

But how can one deplore this peddling of Nature... with its whimsy... its sentiment... its bogus gentility... its nostalgia... when the till rings all day... and two village girls have been given employment?

That's £21.50 thank you... Oh... and this... cosy...

As he sits at the back of the shop, scratching a matted schooner upon slate, Kevin dreams of a way of righting the balance regarding Nature & the Country... of telling it like it is....

Oh God! Oh God!

Marvel at "Oil-Drenched Cannets"... every city feather fantastically exact, as if they were the plastic flotsam of the shoreline! "Lonely Wandering" the expression on the lad's face, as, gusted by a mischievous off-shore wind, he drifts far, far from the shore, beyond the reach of the Inshore Rescue Service!

Masterly beyond words, is Penwallet's "Leisure Centre at Benthed"... the lofty buildings straddling both sides of the once bosky peninsula... whilst "Dog" clings there on "Stardust", places the artist in the ranks of the World's most Outstanding

## Vanity Fair

THE POSITION of Leader is a difficult and lonely one, and that's the Chairman of Urbleton Health Authority likes to have a few close chums about him, his lawyer, his banker and the like. At least that's what the parapet woman of the Very Left would say, but it's not really like that at all.

If four like-minded chaps are prepared to give up their time and happen to be on a few sub-committees together and all happen to agree with Chairman, then he can't help it. That's all there is to it.

But unfortunately there has recently sprung up a group of rather uppity working Urbleton Council Socialist Appointees, who've been going for innocent Chairman and the Other Three like a pack of terriers. They were at it at last week's meeting.

"This Authority could be attacked for being run by a small clique of Men," said one, brazenly accusing Chairman of choosing his own chums for the Sub-committee on Competitive Tendering. Blinded by naivety and idealism, she and her accomplices cannot understand the needs of Chairman and the pressures under which they function.

Poor Chairman had, in fact, received rather a crosspatch letter from Chairman of the Regional Authority (King of all Chairmen) asking how privatisation was coming along. It hadn't been coming along at all. Handicapped by being both in the Labour Party and beset by terriers, Chairman originally failed to coax our Authority into voting for it.

But you don't get a Knight-hood if things aren't being privatised at a decent rate, so Chairman managed to drag the matter up again and just about swung it with his casting vote.

He'd promised that all contracts would go to in-house tenders, but the awkward women wouldn't believe him. They still wanted a Woman

on the committee, Miss X, a Union member. The Woman who the Men had rejected, Chairman and the Other Three thought they'd got rid of her weeks ago. It wasn't their fault if she wasn't up to scratch. "Everyone on this Authority is an employer," snapped the Man Who Wasn't Chairman's Friend. "If you want to live with the Workers all the time, you should be the employer."

"I can't vote for her," said Non-Friend Number Two, pink with temper. "She'll take the papers and publish them."

"Is anyone in pain in the audience?" asked Chairman wistfully, quelling the upsurge. "I will not have interruptions from the audience."

"Miss X was refused by a self-appointed committee," said an awkward woman politely. "We acted democratically," shouted Non-Friend Number Three. It was nasty to have a statutory woman on the committee, said he, like a statutory Black or Jew. And there were no smoke-filled rooms where caucuses took place.

Chairman, having explained things clearly and honestly like that, it came as rather a shock when some Doctors and Wets sided with the Lefties and voted Miss X onto the Tendering Committee. Things like that rarely happen on our Health Authority.

But it won't make much difference. The gang just won't be able to murder as briskly through agendas and get things cracking like they used to.

At least Chairman, and he alone, is compensated for the agonies of his post. He gets £8,500 pa for about two days' work on this Authority. And if there isn't always a little bit of that, that's not his fault. And they're not his friends and standards won't go down the pan, and he's not joining the SDP. It's all lies, really it is.

Michele Hanson

صبراً من الامل







## Where is their friend when they need him?

Whatever the scale of the pogrom taking place in Beirut for the past week, President Assad of Syria has had the power to stop it, or at least to show some willingness to do so. He has done neither, and if the result is half as bad as is now feared then the Palestinians will have suffered as great a demonstration of ferocity as was shown to them by the Christian Phalangists in 1982.

In broad terms Syria stands to the Shi'ite Amal Militia as Israel then stood to the Christians. When the truth about the scale of the 1982 atrocities began to emerge, Israel had to call off the assault. That Mr Assad has shown no such disposition is a grievous but also a telling aspect of this latest renewal of the conflict. It has been known for several days—in outline though by no means in detail—that at Sabra and Chatila the Amal Militia has gone on a murderous rampage. At the larger camp of Bourj al-Barajneh the Palestinians have been able to put up more resistance. That supplied the occasion for Syria to step in with orders to stop or, if those were unheeded, with some of its 30,000 troops in Lebanon. But nothing has happened. What is Mr Assad trying to tell the Palestinians?

The first message is that there is no place for them as an armed presence in Lebanon which might disrupt his design for a Syrian suzerainty (the only design which hitherto has provided a coherent answer to Lebanon's unparalleled travails). That message was aimed at the Fatah loyalists within the PLO who give allegiance to Yasser Arafat. But it has been taken by Mr Arafat's opponents as applying to them too, for despite their normal readiness to fall in with Syrian designs they have aligned themselves this time with the besieged Palestinians in the camps. Mr Assad is, of course, capable of conducting policies of extreme subtlety, but the net result of the past week must be to strengthen Mr Arafat's position substantially.

The second message seems to say: Palestinians cannot count on Syria to give them the slightest practical assistance. They are on their own. They must reach what terms they can with Israel. And although that may prove to be very sensible advice it is contrary to everything Mr Assad has told them in the past. It is his opponents in the Middle East power struggle, King Hussein and President Mubarak, who have been advocating an accommodation with Israel. Mr Arafat has gone along with that suggestion as far as the political divisions within the PLO have allowed. His agreement with King Hussein on the outline of a federation between Jordan and a future Palestinian state led to denunciations from the radical groups looking to Damascus and within his own Fatah organisation. But what are those denunciations worth when Mr Assad can act with such apparently cynical disregard of Palestinian interests?

It looks as though the gaping hole at the centre of the rejectionist argument all these years has finally been exposed. In it there is no policy for Palestine, only the senseless lip-service to a totally unrealistic ambition: the dismemberment or destruction of Israel. It is time the rejectionists' bluff was called. It was not expected to be Mr Assad who called it. Perhaps his rejectionism has been tactical all along, a mere means for securing allies in the other regional battles in which he is engaged. Either way the Palestinians living on the West Bank have long had his measure, and though they too may justly regret the end of the great crusade they have long known that it would not be accomplished in their lifetimes.

The logical outcome (which is not to say it will happen without further torment) is for the weakened PLO, though under a strengthened Arafat, formally to accept UN resolutions 242 and 338 which recognise the State of Israel. They can then ask to see the colour of President Reagan's money. It was he who proposed the Jordan-Palestine federation. It is he, if anyone, who can put pressure on Israel to reverse its rejection of that plan: and US interests would require him to do so if the PLO had made the concessions required. Mr Assad has inadvertently posed the simple question: if that option is not attractive to Palestinians, what alternative do they suggest?

## Getting macho over Draco

For a man who's been dead these 2,500 years the Athenian lawgiver Draco has been remarkably successful over the past few days in baring his way into the headlines. Arthur Scargill says Ian MacGregor is being "draconian" when he shouldn't be. A Commons Select Committee says the drugs laws ought to be "draconian" but they aren't. The image of Draco that comes down across the centuries, in other words, is invariably that of your thoroughgoing professional hard man: the Casper Weinberger, one might say, of Athenian jurisprudence.

This was not always so. It used to be held by some, on the basis of a text of Aristotle, that Draco was also in his own way something of a Bennis reformer, extending the franchise (though only to those able to afford armour) and ordering that magistrates and councillors should be chosen by lot.

That text, sadly, is now regarded as spurious. We are left simply with Draco the codifier of Athenian law. That, certainly, was a reforming act, since it gave the beleaguered middle-class citizen something solid and incontrovertible to turn to, instead of leaving him, as before, at the mercy of marauding aristocrats who defined the law as whatever they wanted it to be. Draco also made the law uniform by decreeing that a single punishment should serve in the great majority of cases. The only trouble was that this punishment was death. According to Plutarch: "Even those convicted of idleness were executed, and those who stole fruit or vegetables suffered the same punishment as sacrilege or murder." Someone once had the temerity to ask Draco why this should be so. The minor offences, the sage replied, seemed to him to deserve execution. As for major ones, he had been unable to find any heavier punishment to impose.

The whole Draconian code was subsequently swept away by Solon, except for the distinction which Draco had drawn between deliberate and involuntary acts of murder. No other society has ever quite revived it, though as a result of these disclosures an early day motion advocating immediate action on parallel lines may well be tabled when Parliament resumes by someone like Mr Peter Brinkley. Our records of Draco's life are extremely sketchy, and we have no way of knowing whether he was ever called upon to deal with a miners' strike. Mr MacGregor's reported comment when our own strike ended — "people are now discovering the price of insubordination and insurrection and boy are we going to make it stick" — sounds very much like the kind of language Draco liked to hear, though the Athenian would probably have found the penalties ordered by the NCB regrettably effete.

On one point, however, we can be quite categorical. Whatever Mr Jimmy Greaves might say, Kevin Moran would certainly have got his marching orders at Wembley if Draco had been refereeing.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# The shame and the pity of our unfulfilled talent

Dear Sir,—How nauseating was Terry Coleman's patronising and disparaging article about Kim Blake (May 22), who had the temerity to express anger that she had not found a decent job since graduating in 1982. Paradoxically, while ostensibly allowing her a platform to express her views—she has the usual views on racism, South Africa, the harassment of gay pornography and the "Bomb"—he managed to suggest, by his lack of real sympathy for her plight and that of many, many more in this unfortunate country, that she was politically naive and that many of her arguments were untenable.

The truth of her position has more to do with opportunities missed, the unfulfilled normalities experienced by earlier generations, stereotyping by the likes of Terry Coleman, the lack of any chance to carve an identity to take control. The article left a great deal unsaid. Coleman said he went to Sheffield "to attempt to gain an understanding of the state of mind of one of the hundreds of thousands of people who have left school or university, and never had a proper job." He failed. D. J. 13 Felix Gardens, London SW2.

Sir,—Although carefully stating that his profile of unemployed graduates Kim Blake is "not typical of anything," Terry Coleman's supercilious presentation of the piece falls little short of being yet another "Who are the dole stragglers?" article.

## Labour's stock and shares

Sir,—John Large (Letters, May 13) complains that he has been excluded from a parliamentary shortlist because he's a man.

I have no idea whether his gender or his personal qualifications were the basis of his rejection. However, his individual failure does not bear comparison with the institutional discrimination practised against women by the Labour Party.

Labour women have for more than 80 years been excluded from Parliament by an unwritten "rule" in the party's constitution which ensures that shortlists for most safe Labour seats consist only of men.

So far Labour has selected 90 candidates for its "safest" seats. Of these, 82 are men and only eight are women. Of the eight women, four are sitting MPs, two are ex-MPs, and one is a Labour MP. This means that so far we have a potential net gain of three women to add to our abysmally low stock of 11 women in Westminster.

Mr Large can rest assured that his case is the exception that proves the rule. Thousands of Labour Party activists—backed by the national Executive Committee—maintain a system that discriminates blatantly.

Ann Pettifor, National Organiser, Labour Women's Action Committee, London SW 4.

## Mixed grill

Sir,—Sometimes I think my world is falling apart but then I read your report on hospital cockroaches (May 24) and I know England is safe in their hands. How deeply reassuring to know that cockroaches in chicken stew are harmless as long as they are cooked properly.

No doubt the Health Minister will form a study group to investigate the protein content. This is what Lawson and Thatcher have been waiting for—a self-sufficient NHS providing its own "in-farming" for the consumption of both patients and staff. The mind boggles.—Yours sincerely, Aubrey Bramson, Hat End, Middlesex.

# The pitfalls in a beef stroganoff theory of the universe



Geoffrey Taylor

A NEW range of cook books has started to appear, an ethnic this time but vegetarian. They are designed to put people off their food. They differ from older books of the kind in not seeking to imitate meat. They are there to cover the gastronomic flank of the animal rights movement.

To read these books is to remember that the old regime has been good while it lasted. The kormani lambing from North Sumatra, the Kurdish mountain delicacy of yoghurt and lamb aroma-

Ms Blake is presented to us as a rather silly person who cannot face up to the harsh reality of life. Yet I wonder if her opinions presented in a less derided form, might seem more convincing.

For instance, it is most certainly the case that employment opportunities for female graduates are significantly more restricted than those of their male counterparts in the best of economic climates. In this respect Ms Blake has a perfect grasp on reality.

As for the State "owing her a living" it is very much a case, as she says, of "getting on to socialism." The free market system allows the wastage of thousands of able and talented people in its necessary pursuit of unemployment. It is quite right that the unemployed should feel no sense of shame in claiming their necessary allowance from the State. It is the State, under the present government policies, that is responsible for that wastage.

This article was the sort of pernicious myth-mongering which might look not at all out of place in the Daily Mail or Express. Sadly the unemployed are not safe from stigmatisation even in your pages. Yours David Harper, Oxford Unemployed Workers' and Claimants' Union, 44b Princes Street, Oxford.

Sir,—I read the article on unemployed graduate Kim Blake (Guardian Women, May 22) with interest. I am also an unemployed graduate

# When care is the only yardstick left

The remotest idea how to create several hundred thousand — let alone 34 million — lasting, worthwhile, well-paid jobs in regions where they are required.

All talk about high technology plants (which may in the long term be net job destroyers) and providing individual entrepreneurs is simply humbug — although worthwhile on its own terms — given the scale of the problem.

When will the sacrifice being made by the unemployed be recognised, and will it be too late?—Yours F. C. Williams, Broadstone, Dorset.

## Our world in their hands

Sir,—The normalisation of Soviet-American relations is of vast international significance. The world's political situation will largely depend on the outcome of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons.

The second round begins in late May. The Soviet Union is ready to improve and normalise relations. But this must be done through specific actions rather than verbal declarations.

The USSR and the US reached a clear-cut agreement on the subject of arms control. The sides agreed to consider and solve in a package the questions of preventing an arms race in space, and stopping such a race on earth.

If the delegations have begun the talks on the reduction of weapons, they ought at least refrain from increasing them. Therefore Moscow has proposed that both powers should impose a total and comprehensive moratorium on the development and deployment of nuclear and space weapons pending the entire period of the talks.

What is the US response to this proposal? The recent conversation between Andrei Gromyko and George Shultz in Vienna gave no grounds to believe that the US is ready to take practical action to limit the arms race.

Improvement of relations and development of business-like cooperation are unthinkable without an atmosphere of mutual trust. There is no

and had received that morning another rejected application.

When I graduated in 1984 with an honours degree in history, I thought that finding a job would not be difficult. I wanted to work in a library for a couple of years so I could then study for a Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship. But it appeared that I was over-qualified to work as a library assistant.

I was told at the Job Centre that I would not find any suitable jobs there. I looked at other careers but found I was trapped between being too highly qualified and having no experience.

I, like Kim Blake, had also been taught that if I worked hard, I would get a good job. If I did not find one then it must be my own fault. I have also found that other people believe if you have a degree and no job, it must be your own fault.

The feeling of guilt is overwhelming and you soon avoid people, rather than have to explain why you are unemployed. Unemployment is something you cannot understand unless you have suffered it with the feeling of rejection and the lack of hope for the future.

When will the sacrifice being made by the unemployed be recognised, and will it be too late?—Yours F. C. Williams, Broadstone, Dorset.

Sir,—In June 1984 I graduated from Trent Polytechnic with a 2:1 BA in

multities degree. In the last eleven months I have received one interview, and enough letters of rejection to wallpaper my bedroom (and on £21.50 a fortnight, it's about all the decoration I can afford).

It was with interest, then, that I read Terry Coleman's interview with Kim Blake. Unlike Ms Blake I have not given up the search for full-time employment, and have hopes (perhaps foolish) of a job in the near future. In common with her, however, I have come to judge myself (and I hope others) not in terms of the job I do (or which standards, of course, am a complete dead loss and burden to society), but on more personal, less ephemeral criteria. If this is Mr Coleman's view, brands me as a spiritual yuppie, I suppose I'll just have to live with it.

I expect that even among the charitable, liberal-minded readers of the Guardian there will be those who will view this letter, and its writer, as just another work of the Mickey Mouse degree. They are entitled to that view, but in my opinion are a long way from being accurate. My present circumstances do not surprise me in the slightest. Coming as I do from an area of industrial decline I have seen many friends and acquaintances made redundant, or in some cases be unable to find work after leaving school. I saw no reason why, irrespective of academic qualifications, I should be immune from this process on graduation.

Having said this I have every sympathy with those like Kim Blake, who have gone through the education system fuelled by the belief that their hard work would be rewarded with meaningful employment. I do not believe that society owes me, or anyone else, a living. Nor am I claiming that the state should be the provider of individual happiness. What I will say, though, is that a society facing the problems we do in Britain can surely find a better use for four million unemployed graduates, or otherwise, than to let them simply lie idle as a counter to rising inflation. —Yours Peter Dumbley, 14 Albion Road, Chesterfield.

Sir,—Perhaps in future Terry Coleman would do better to interview the "public" figures who, he says, reveal so much more than merely "private" people. His venture into the uncharted territory of private life in 1980's Britain was only a little less of a social truism; it manages, instead, to give a little less of life to some of the more objectionable myths about unemployment and the young.

Kim Blake earned the dubious honour of coming under Mr Coleman's careful scrutiny by having written to the Guardian to the effect that she had despaired of the work ethic and by refusing to do the "class war" which Mr Coleman seems to regard as something so non-existent and heretical that it must not even be mentioned, for fear of conjuring it into being.

## Miscellany at large

Sir,—You quote (May 24) Robert Corbett, from marijuana to harder drugs as "equivalent to switching from shandy to whisky." This is plainly untrue—shandy and whisky both condemned by American prohibition. This is not to say that we should ignore the problem of drug abuse. But making the decisions should be people who know what they are talking about, not people pandering to an electorate perceived as calling for a strengthening of law and order.—Yours, George Howard, London SE8.

Sir,—Never mind how many Terries are extant: it's the monstrous regiment of Walkies we should be worrying about.—Yours faithfully, John White, Folkestone, Kent.

## A COUNTRY DIARY

THE LAKE DISTRICT: It was one of those hazy, lifeless days when the high fells might have been no more than palely-painted scenery in vague, washed-out colours. Mr. A Chinese picture without sculpturing or depth. There were no features, no crags, crevices or fissures, just the familiar shapes, with the rain-washed, grey, Causey Pike and Maiden Moor an indeterminate grey. Grasmere and the Buttermere fell with a bit of blue in them and Pillar was a little brighter. The light blue wash. Walking the Robinson-Hindscarth — Dale

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Sir,—Please thank Mr Terry Coleman for demolishing what little confidence and self-respect my daughter, Kim Blake, still has. —Yours faithfully, (Mrs) Margaret Blake, Totnes, Devon.

poor people and people who have no jobs and no hope. There are now indications that the voting public are beginning to tire of uncaring government. The yardstick of "caring" may not seem much on which to base a choice about the future leadership of the country, but with the intellectual talent at our disposal in the present political system, it's all we've got.—Sincerely, J. F. Stern, 157 Stapleton Hall Road, London N4.

is due not to the marijuana but to the atmosphere of risk, daring, and bravado that accompanies its legal status. The fruitfulness of an attempt to eliminate a drug that is truly popular was demonstrated by American prohibition. This is not to say that we should ignore the problem of drug abuse. But making the decisions should be people who know what they are talking about, not people pandering to an electorate perceived as calling for a strengthening of law and order.—Yours, George Howard, London SE8.

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## A COUNTRY DIARY

Head round seemed, for a change, curiously unwarding — no sunshine, no wind, no shadows, almost a walk through flat, cardboard scenery. No cloud or mist but nothing to see except well-remembered outlines. Back down in lovely Newlands and closer to the scenery there seemed more to admire the tinnier reservoir in Little Dale, caught below dark crags, that always looks the perfect mountain pool and the green, zig-zag tracks among the long-slashed meadows where, in the twentieth century, men told their hundreds for the riches

The point is that in taking on and wiping the floor with Ms Blake, Terry Coleman was hardly rising to the challenge of dealing seriously with the argument of the thousands of bitterly disillusioned young people who have come to see politicians' promises for the vacuum rhetoric that they are.

As portrayed by Terry Coleman (accurately or otherwise, this "private person" appears self-indulgent, pretentious and prone to trite and idealistic political notions about the state "owing" people something (shame!) which are indeed as futile as they are without a material basis.

I look forward to the day when features will appear on some of the other hundreds of thousands of unemployed young people who, unlike Kim Blake, have in many cases a very clear and sound understanding of the class war which is being waged against them. Likewise many, perhaps most of the young unemployed are now rightly cynical about the benevolent state as the avuncular answer to their problems.—Yours faithfully, Clifford Slapper, PPC, Socialist Party of Great Britain, Illington South & Finsbury, London N1.

Sir,—Please thank Mr Terry Coleman for demolishing what little confidence and self-respect my daughter, Kim Blake, still has. —Yours faithfully, (Mrs) Margaret Blake, Totnes, Devon.

## The kids have it figured

Sir,—I read with considerable interest David Hearst's report (May 15) about the number of youngsters leaving the Youth Training Scheme, which included another dose of negative criticism by Youthaid.

Whilst it may be true that one third of young people joining the Youth Training Scheme during its second year left early, many of these youngsters will in fact have obtained a job or moved into further education or training. Some 60 per cent of youngsters leaving the scheme, including those leaving early, are going into employment when you include those entering courses of further education and other training. The figure rises to about two thirds. Mr Hearst admits as much in his final paragraph, but in his headline talk of "drop-out rates of one third." These are hardly the figures of an unsuccessful scheme.

Despite carping from Youthaid, the Youth Training Scheme is popular with youngsters and its popularity is growing. In 1984-5 just over 370,000 youngsters joined the scheme; by 1984-5 the figure had risen to nearly 390,000. With some 270,000 young people currently in training there is no doubt that youngsters recognise the benefits of the scheme, even if Youthaid — for reasons best known to themselves — do not.—Yours, George Watson, House of Commons.

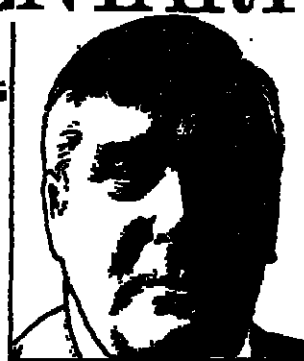
of copper, silver and even a little gold. It is difficult to believe that this most peaceful dale, still completely unspoiled by the scars of tourism, was once one of the most industrialised parts of the north of England, loud with the clamour of a dozen rich and active mines. Today, the mines, long-since grown over and abandoned, have to be sought out and the only sound in the dale the other day was the call of a cuckoo high in the crags, the only movement in the landscape a distant, creeping tractor in a tilted field. A. HARRY GRIFFIN



# The smouldering volcano among the Unionist anthills

## COMMENTARY

### Ian Aitken



secure a direct Commons majority for returning the bill to the floor of the House, officially stands in the name of an obscure Tory backbencher. But everyone knows it is the work of Mr Powell, even if it bears the formal signature of Mr Andrew Bowden, Brighton, Kempton's anti-abortion campaigner.

There is no doubt that a substantial majority of MPs voted for Mr Powell's bill before it was talked out, and the odds, therefore, are that he will secure a majority for bringing it back when Mr Bowden's motion is debated on a free vote next Friday week. The fate of the bill will then become a simple test of physical stamina between its supporters and its opponents, as MPs jostle through scores of amendments during an entire week-end, night and day.

That in itself would be unprecedented. But the situation created by Mr Powell could overturn the entire

system governing private members' business in the Commons. If the Bowden/Powell motion is carried, it will shatter long established Parliamentary rules—rules under which the order of precedence for MPs' bills is immutably established by a kind of Parliamentary bingo game known politely as a ballot Order will be replaced by chaos.

But the true irony of all this uproar is the undeniable fact that, if Mr Powell wins, he will have done so largely on the votes (not to mention the propaganda support) of the Roman Cath-

olic Church. And that, you will admit, is a pretty clever trick for so eloquent an enemy of the Papists. It might even win him a few badly-needed Catholic votes in marginal South Down.

Such a victory, however, would represent a rather minor triumph for a politician of Mr Powell's pretensions. He has not spent 40 years in active political life for a footnote in the history books, even if it also rates a page or two in *Ex-Skin-My*, the standard work on Parliamentary procedure.

He may have failed to retain India as the jewel in the Imperial crown, failed to keep the blacks out of Britain, and failed to keep Britain out of Europe. But Mr Powell retains one final ambition—to keep Ulster out of the Irish Republic.

Although his departure to Northern Ireland after his withdrawal from the Conservative Party was simple political expediency (he needed a seat, after all), his determination to maintain the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is nevertheless all of a piece with his basic nationalist beliefs. And it is these beliefs which are the foundation of his popular following.

Mr Powell is well aware—more aware, perhaps, than

any other backbench MP—that the current discussions between the Thatcher Government and Dublin represent the first serious Anglo-Irish bid to end the status quo since partition nearly 70 years ago. If the talks are not aimed at an immediate move towards a united Ireland, he knows they are designed to bring about a radical change in the union, at least as he and a million Ulstermen understand it.

He appreciates that Mrs Thatcher—a fundamentalist politician with economic views very similar to his own—is the first British prime minister since Lloyd George with the ruthlessness needed to dump the unionists and cut through the labyrinth of Irish politics. And he also knows that Dr FitzGerald is the first Taoiseach since independence with the breadth of vision to abandon myth and go for reality.

Mr Powell knows that this is a potent combination of forces, and if it is allowed to go ahead unhindered, it has a real chance of producing a formula which will rob the Unionists of their dominant influence in the Six Counties. And that is why he sees his final challenge as the frustration of that aim.

The deal being discussed between Mrs Thatcher and

Dr FitzGerald involves a massive degree of so-called "cross-border cooperation," all of it anathema to Mr Powell. It probably includes a special court consisting of two United Kingdom judges and one Irish judge, to deal with IRA terrorism. It could also lead to the release of many hundreds of young IRA prisoners on both sides of the border, in a bid to undermine the basis of terrorism.

But there is already talk of an approaching breakdown in these talks—one which would certainly be fatal to the survival of Mr FitzGerald as the head of the Fianna Gael coalition, even if it would not threaten Mrs Thatcher. Any imaginable successor to Dr FitzGerald would inevitably have to pull out of the search for a realistic deal and return to the traditional but unattainable demand for a united Ireland.

The suspicion is that Mr Powell will turn out to have had a major share in the event, should the breakdown occur. More worrying is the belief in some circles that his ally in seeking to scupper the talks is a senior minister close to Mrs Thatcher herself. Who else but Mr Ian Gow, described as Minister of Housing.

SOME years ago when the Rt Hon Kenneth Powell was conducting a speaking tour of the southern counties of England, the local police felt it necessary to detail a great man's person. Needless to say, they were not guarding him against attack by the notoriously Tory inhabitants of the area. It was the IRA they were worried about.

Like many policemen, the detective was a passionate admirer of Mr Powell, and when the tour was over he asked his charge to write some message on a dinner menu as a memento. Courtesy as ever, Mr Powell took the piece of card wrote coarsely, and handed it back.

What the puzzled constable took to be extremely bad handwriting was in fact a lengthy passage in ancient Greek. Seeing his surprise, the ever helpful Mr Powell said: "Should any of your colleagues question the authenticity of this, you must point out to them that it is Attic, not Classical, Greek."

The story is probably too good to be true, but it neatly illustrates the abiding enigma of the Powell phenomenon. The puzzle is how such a fastidious, school-

arly, and supremely intellectual politician has managed to combine these qualities with an amazing talent for populism, not to say demagoguery.

For the extraordinary thing about Mr Powell's many political campaigns, both as a Tory and as an Ulster Unionist, is not that they have largely failed to produce the practical results he presumably intended. It is that they have provided him with an enthusiastic, even fanatical, following among the kind of people who probably cannot understand three-quarters of what he says—and would not agree with much of it if they did.

In spite of this following, however, Mr Powell's career has mostly been marked by failure. To be sure, he claims that his defection from the Conservative Party and his subsequent advice to the electors to vote Labour in February, 1974, was the crucial factor in bringing down Ted Heath and putting Harold Wilson back into Downing Street. But the move which was intended to get Britain out of the Common Market, did not achieve that ultimate objective.

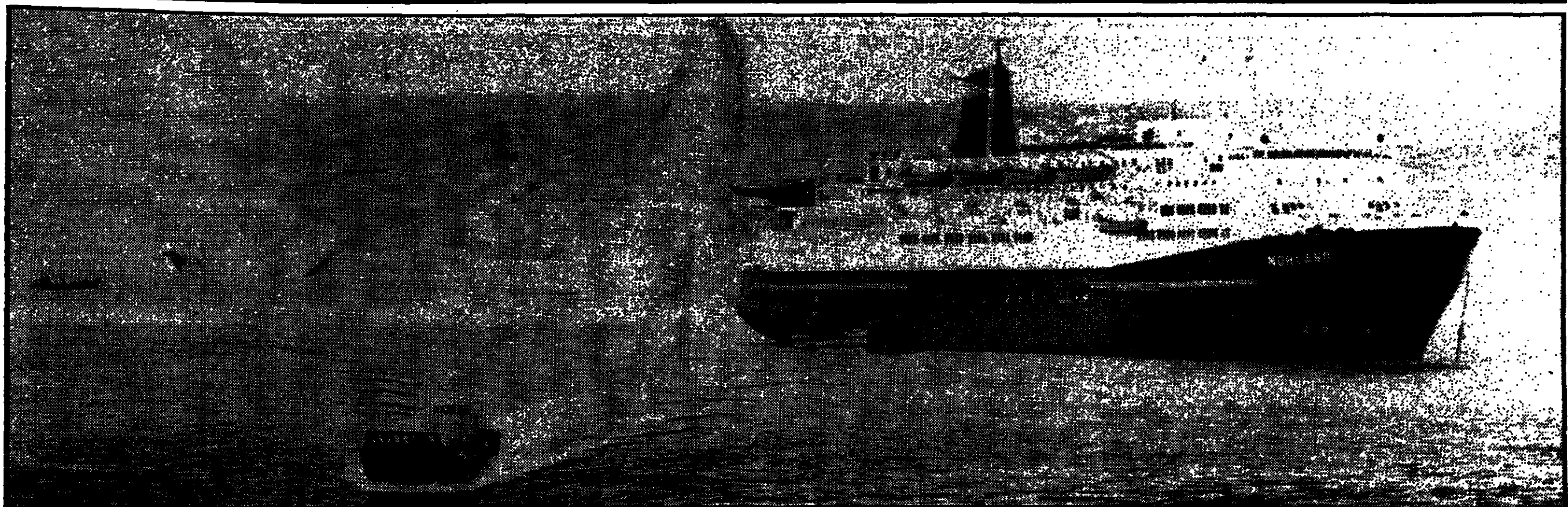
Now Mr Powell smoulders on the third Opposition bench below the gangway, a

towering volcano among the political anthills of the Official Unionist Party. Though his tongue is as eloquent as ever, his oratory no longer empties the tea rooms or fills the deserted benches. His solitary constitutional achievement is the sheer number of his fellow Ulster MPs who now sit at Westminster—the electoral quid pro quo which he extracted from Mr Michael Foot in return for delivering Unionist support for the Callaghan government.

But Mr Powell, who will be 73 next month, has not fuelled his remarkable political passions by brooding on past failures. And all of a sudden it looks as if he may be about to crown his career with two political successes in widely different fields.

The first—and also the less momentous—of these involves his private members' bill to outlaw medical experiments on test-tube human foetuses. Thanks to some highly imaginative tactical planning, it now looks as if a bill, which seemed only last week to be doomed to oblivion for lack of parliamentary time, may get its chance to reach the statute book.

The play, which involves a unique procedural move to



THESE ARE the thoughts and fears of a perfectly ordinary housewife who finds herself with her husband on his way to war. They are not eloquently written, and even now, after I have read and heard all the accounts, they are still rather blurred. But that's how it all happened. Confusion was with me constantly. It was the most horrific time of my life.

The telephone rang at 8.30 am on Saturday April 17, 1982. We had only returned from a week's holiday the evening before. "Hello," I said brightly and breezily, but the tone of voice of Jim, second engineer of the Norland, soon disposed of that mood. "Just get Bert," he said. "Pat, everything will be all right."

We had been expecting the call all the time we had been away. Bert had listened to every broadcast, ringing home to see if there were any messages. He had known of course that the Norland would be requisitioned. We had been on it during that weekend when the news of the formation of the Task Force had been announced. The talk then in the officers' mess was about how soon the Norland would be called if things went wrong down there. I didn't think for a moment that we would become involved at all.

Bert has been the electrician on the Norland since she was brought into service in 1974. He had spent quite a few months working on the electrical drawings in Bremerhaven before bringing her to Hull to take on her first fare-paying passengers. Being with her from the beginning, she was part of him in a way. I do not honestly think that he could have not gone with her, even given the choice. As Bert waved from the ship, I rang me at lunch time. "Better pack me a bag, Trish." I tried to ask him what was happening, but could not say.

We have three children at home. Duncan aged 19, Fiona 11, and Jamie almost 2. Our other two children were married and had homes of their own. Both came round as usual. They heard the news. "Shall I go out and buy him a St Christopher," one said. "Or do you want to give him yours?" I had already decided to give him mine.

When Bert came home that evening he just took me in his arms and held me very tight. He did not say anything at all. I did think of an idea that the situation down there could very easily escalate, but I bit my tongue and kept quiet.

They started work on the ship right away, converting her. Instead of carrying holiday-makers she was to carry Continentals and tools of war. Her decks had to be reinforced to carry two helicopters, one of which was to be used as a gun. I had a shock when I went on board three days later

Three years ago Bert Slater, right, was electrician on the North Sea ferry Norland. Then the ship was sent to the Falklands. His wife Patricia, below, recalls the most horrific weeks of her life



## Target ship, so big, so black oh, so vulnerable



Patricia Slater with Fiona and Jamie

and saw all the changes. It did not seem the same ship but the change in the crew shook me more. Were these the same jolly bunch of men that I had known for years? They seemed to be going to go to war. As Ascension Island, as far as Ascension Island, but if this was so why had the ship been so altered? One said that he thought they were going all the way to the Falklands, but added that it would all be over by the time they got there. Bert kept saying that "I promise we'll be back in a few weeks' time," he said. His eyes told a different story.

On the morning of Wednesday, April 21, he did not leave early. Instead he took the children to school and stood watching them walk across the playground. There were tears in his eyes as Fiona and Jamie walked away. I knew then that it

was the day that the Norland would sail.

I managed to get on board for a short while, but soon we had to leave. The dockside was crowded with people cheering and waving flags. It was heartbreaking standing there, watching the world's largest passenger ferry prepare to cast off and leave for war, feeling so sad and lonely in the midst of that large crowd, and yet so proud. As Bert waved from the high deck I thought, "I would never feel greater pain as then. It was as nothing compared to what was to follow."

The ship now had a couple of days in Portsmouth with even more work being done to her. We watched the television news, but the Norland was only on for a moment. At least we saw it, though. All the other ships had great send-offs, and television coverage, but hardly a mention

for the Norland, perhaps because of the troops she was carrying. 2 Para. Now what were they doing on a merchant ship? Why were they not on a naval ship with sailors that are trained and have the proper equipment for going into war zones? It was all very confusing.

The day the Sheffield was hit was a great shock. My God, they really do mean to have a war. It was so frightening listening to the announcement. My heart bled for the Royal Navy wives. Dear God, please let this be our first and last ship to be hit. What torment for those women down in Portsmouth. If only I could say to one of them, "I'm sorry I felt so guilty because I had actually thought to myself, 'Thank God it is a Royal Navy ship and not mine.'"

When the announcement came on television, I told myself that it was a thought hundreds of women

had. Even other Royal Navy wives, with their men on other ships, had similar thoughts.

The Hull Daily Mail comes on the streets early in the afternoon, and the headlines were huge "We go in—but 21 die." No mention of the Norland or 2 Para. It just said Task Force troops. I got the bus to go home but everyone was talking about the headlines. "If the Norland's there, God help her. What a target she'd make for the Argies." I wanted to shout at them "shut up you idiots, don't you know Bert's there."

Later on that evening, at twenty past eight, a news flash came on the television. Five ships in San Carlos—one sunk and others hit. 2 Para were the first to land. I think my heart stopped beating. I felt so cold. So that explained my strange feelings, for all this must have happened early Friday morning or perhaps even Thursday night. I believe Bert's love reached over the 8,000 miles.

Later we heard on the television and radio that 2 Para were ashore and that the Norland was in there amidst it all. You could hear the planes and bombs exploding and even gunfire. Common sense told you that the Norland would be an easy target. She's so high in the water and has no defensive armament like the Royal Navy ships. We had the television on until close dawn, then the radio on to make sure we did not miss anything. We had two radios on different stations. We even rang Duncan and asked him to listen to the other station and keep us informed. We just dare not miss one iota of news.

Even with all the numbers the Ministry of Defence had, I kept thinking what someone had told me earlier in the evening. No news is good news.

Oh God, how can this be happening? It must be a nightmare. Please let me wake up. Surely with all this love and all these prayers Bert will be all right, safe from the endless stream of Argentine planes. Are the islands worth all this? I personally would say no. No, it's not worth one life, be it ours or theirs, but reality tells you we must defend British soil. I know how I feel with my husband suddenly in a war, but how is it for the Navy wives? Are they able to cope with all this? Had they expected it to go this far? I had thought it could get rough when the Norland left Hull, but certainly not as bad as this. I don't believe anyone, even the politicians, thought it would ever reach this stage.

We managed to get hold of a super chappie down in Portsmouth, and even though it must have been hectic down there he still took time to give you what comfort he could over the telephone. He

said the Norland was safe and no one was hurt on board.

I bet no one connected with the Task Force slept that night. In the morning Portsmouth told us that the Norland was back with the main Task Force in relative safety, so the torment was eased a little. If only it was so for the rest of the Task Force wives. Try as I can I cannot remember the next couple of days. There were more news of ships and men being lost, and people back here are complaining about the weather. It puzzles me how things seem so normal to some people.

Then 2 Para took Goose Green and we felt so proud since the Norland had taken them in. Perhaps now that things are going our way the rest of the Argentine forces will give up.

After the news of the Sheffield being sunk, the children left out praying for the Argentine soldiers. Perhaps I did wrong, but I didn't point out to them that they should include them.

Margaret Thatcher, in all her wisdom, gave a speech. "The older generation," she said, "and generations before them, have made sacrifices so that we could be free. Today it falls on us to bear the same responsibility. We know the reality of war, we know its hazards and its dangers, and so on. I am not one for swearing, but to hell with that idea. I am not prepared to make my husband a sacrifice and neither is any other wife. I think this war will be a monument to the stupidity of an Argentine general and an English prime minister who could not face the fact that saving lives should come before saving face in the political world. Why do politicians and suchlike hold lives so cheaply?"

About three weeks after May 21, we saw the first filmed reports of the San Carlos landings. And there she was, the Norland, smack in the middle of it all, looking so big, so black and oh so vulnerable. What a target she made in the bright sunshine, she rides so high in the water. One consolation was that she was comparatively safe from torpedoes. It was the rockets that frightened us, especially the Exocet. The Argentine Pucaras were screaming across the skyline dropping their lethal bombs and firing their rockets. Anything like that is horrific, but it was more so because one of their targets was the Norland, and Bert was on board.

How did we ever get this far into a war? It had been bad enough when we heard the radio accounts back in May, but to actually see it, was a different story entirely, especially in our own living room. My God, that

was dreadful. A school teacher friend said it was better not to watch television at all. He knew it was hard not to turn the set on, but it was better for the waves and others involved not to see what was happening to their loved ones. I tried it, but I think it was much worse. When the Antelope was hit and still managed to stay afloat with the unexploded bombs on her, it seemed like a miracle, but then, as everyone feared, the tough little ship blew up and she was gone.

All the survivors were transported onto the Norland and in our ignorance I thought she might just bring them back home but no, they were transferred onto a proper hospital ship, but not before they had been reclothed. They only had the clothes they were wearing when they evacuated the ship so all those extra clothes I had packed for Bert had come in very useful after all.

In June, the Norland took on a new role. She became a prisoner-of-war ship, taking Argentine prisoners from Goose Green. What will the Ministry of Defence use our beautiful ship for next? From a North Sea ferry she had turned her into a troop ship, a battle ship and even a landing craft. Now she was a prisoner-of-war ship, and surely, with POW painted all over her, she would be much safer. When we saw the films on television of her in Montevideo she was beautiful to see, not quite so spick and span as she usually is, but she certainly looked good. I videoed all the news items and played them over and over again.

The disaster at Fitzroy was appalling. An awful lot of men died or were injured and the War Office did not help matters by keeping the actual numbers and details from us. I had been told that the Norland was not involved but even so, the doubts were still there. The poor wives with men on the Sir Galahad and Sir Tristram, the horror and torment they must be going through. How will they ever tell their children that daddy is not coming home, he died in the Falklands? Up to a few weeks ago most children did not know where the Falklands were. Fiona and Jamie most certainly had no idea. Come to think of it many grown ups did not know either.

The scenes on television were harrowing. Although so horrific it made one think they are lucky, at least they are alive. But my God, the pain they must be in. The medics who worked on them as they came ashore did not seem the same men who had done the fighting and then marched across the island. You could almost feel the

compassion they had as they strived to keep the badly injured alive and ease their pain as best they could.

I did not actually hear the first announcement that the Argentines had surrendered in Port Stanley. When they told me it just would not sink in at all. I kept saying does peace on the Falklands mean peace at sea as well. Everyone was saying it must do, but I was not too sure at all. It must have been a wonderful feeling for the women with their menfolk on the island. I was happy for them, but I still kept asking, "What about the ships?"

We were informed that the Norland was to be used to transport prisoners. With great dread we learned that they were not to be taken to neutral Montevideo but into the Argentine itself, to Puerto Madryn. I found it on the map, and even though it was not too far from the Falklands, I did not feel easy at all. What if the Argentines were to stop her leaving port?

We began to hear strong rumours that the Norland was heading for Ascension Island. Now 2 and 3 Para were her passengers, and they were heading for home. That was definite.

We started to get the house ready, and everyone began making plans for a welcome home party. There were lots of flags waved as we drove over the Humber Bridge. They had put a St Andrew's saltire on the bus and one or two Union flags, so of course everyone knew where we were going.

The crowds were cheering and the atmosphere was electric. Suddenly I felt very strange. I looked around and it was deathly quiet. I could see everyone was cheering, but I could not hear a thing. Only my heart was beating very loudly. It became misty very quickly and I felt that strange feeling I had back in May when they had gone into San Carlos. I am afraid I just fainted.

Everyone was crying, not a dry eye among us. It was a magical evening. Bert kept saying, "I didn't expect all this, oh it's wonderful." When we arrived down the avenue, it was dark, but still most of the neighbours were outside waiting for us, and cheered as Bert got out of the bus. The house looked fantastic, all the flags were blowing in the wind. Bert was thrilled with it all. "Fancy doing all this just for me. I was only doing my job."

I hope and pray that the Falkland Islands will remain British even though they are so far away. The motto of the island is "Deserve the Right" and, to my mind, the men who died there deserve the right to keep what they fought and died for.



## Strict regulations determine the use of foreign material on ITV. Christopher Rowley argues the case for the IBA

### Duty calls in the balance of broadcasting trade

JON DAVIS's article about the regulations on foreign material on television (Media Page, May 13) presents an inaccurate picture and largely ignores discussion of important issues. It is well worth debating the type and amount of overseas material on television, and particularly so at a time when Direct Broadcasting by satellite and cable — probably greatly aided by Satellite Master Antennae TV (SMA-TV) — will compete strongly with the IBA and BBC services. Their arrival will mean that all aspects of the existing television output — including the amount and type of overseas material — will need re-examination. But the discussion needs to be both informed and practical.

The IBA's quota regulations are not being broken, and there is no secret about the way they operate. The regulations result in more home-produced programmes on our screens than in almost any other country in the world. Whilst the United States and the USSR, for example, may have more home-produced material,

most people do not wish to follow their types of television service. If our regulations are complicated it is because we are taking into account the quality of programmes — not easily dealt with by simplistic rules. The regulations are set by the IBA for both ITV and Channel 4 (They are not, as Mr. Davis suggests, worked out by the Programme Policy Committee). The limits are not exceeded and the IBA has never said that the quota includes all overseas material. Quota has always been designed to cover mainstream imported material; the more unusual overseas material is excluded.

The list of quota exemptions given in the article is accurate (not least because the IBA readily provided it and other information to Mr. Davis), but the amount of quota exempt foreign material on ITV has always been, and continues to be, small. The facts for April 1984-March 1985 are that of all ITV's transmissions, 13 per cent was quota material.

Quota exempt material comprised one per cent for EEC material, one and a half per cent for extra Commonwealth material not included in quota, and a further three and three-quarter per cent from all other countries in the world. The IBA has never counted advertisements or promotional material which are made in the UK in our overseas regulations; consequently the actual duration of overseas material is used in the quota calculations.

These facts are not hidden. The IBA's regulations are given out to all interested parties both within and outside the Independent Television system, including the broadcasting trade unions who want less quota, and distributors and producers from abroad who want more. They have been given to the press and anyone else who needs them. The IBA has regular discussions with the broadcasting unions and gives them fully detailed figures when they ask for them. The regulations certainly reflect,

among other things, the wish of the trades unions to see maximum employment opportunities for their members. Mr. Davis mentions Commonwealth material. Until 1978 all Commonwealth programmes were exempted from quota. In 1978 the IBA decided that Commonwealth material should be included within the quota. This decision was reviewed and in 1983 it was decided to allow up to one and a half per cent of transmission time to be exempt for Commonwealth material. We made the latest changes partly because of representations from Commonwealth governments and broadcasters who pointed out that they showed a great deal of ITV material and felt that they deserved something in return. The IBA's subsequent research shows that a great deal of the Commonwealth material is particularly popular in rating and appreciation terms.

Mr. Davis is dismissive of Sesame Street. The IBA has always allowed this to be exempt because it is an outstandingly good programme of its type and falls within the "education" category of quota exempt material. Mr. Davis was completely wrong in saying that Thames were "transcending" the IBA quota regulations. Neither Thames — nor incidentally the other London company, LWT — were over their quota allowance. Nor were they or any other company over their peaktime quota — another detailed safeguard upon the amounts of imported material not mentioned by Mr. Davis. We do not understand Mr. Davis's calculations about Thames. He seems to have muddled various statistics that he was given. At one point he says that Thames transmitted either 17.8 per cent or 19.5 per cent of quota even if various quota exempt material was excluded. Neither are true. In the period under discussion Thames transmitted 12.9 per cent quota material; quota exempt overseas material formed 7.1 per cent of Thames's output. These figures are not unusual and they are certainly within the

quota regulations. Had Mr. Davis checked these facts with us instead of selectively (or mistakenly) presenting his figures, his case would have been less suspect. The IBA wants to see a variety of overseas material on ITV and Channel 4. Mainstream American material is useful not least because viewers like it, as well as because it is less expensive than making all one's own similar material. The quota on imported material was cut from the present 14 per cent to, say, 10 per cent — something that is always possible to suggest — the implications have to be honestly faced. An extra 4.5 hours of British material would have to be produced each week but it would be on very small budgets. The "A" Team, for example, would be replaced by a folk show, not by Minder. This change could not help the overall balance on ITV.

The forthcoming arrival of cable and satellite broadcasting will undoubtedly present challenges and problems for the existing broadcasters and there could well be implications for the quota regulations. The IBA does not automatically think that the present position about the imported material on ITV and Channel 4 is correct and unchanging. We constantly review the situation and try by a variety of types of audience research to assess how the public feels. At present, both ratings and appreciation research, as well as other more general research, show that there does not seem to be public disquiet about either American or other programmes from overseas on either ITV or Channel 4. The IBA is accused by Mr. Davis of inactivity and acceptance of the ITV companies' commercial interests. It is accused by the companies, however, of being interventionist and unyielding in its approach to their scheduling of overseas material. The IBA's concern is to see a balanced schedule in which imported programmes have a legitimate but limited place.

Two top CBL people and eight Debenhams directors were put on to a strategic PR committee, which apart from the corridors-of-influence stuff in the City itself, also devised a multi-pronged media programme detailed by PR Week.

"The press was frequently briefed, and leading writers were offered exclusive profiles. Journalists were repensed to rapidly, and given in as subtle a way as possible much more information than they were asking for. Whenever possible, slight changes were made to Debenhams' policies and plans in order to create positive news stories."

Company directors, including chairman Robert Thornton, were made "as available as possible for comments and interviews, often abandoning company business for days at a time to deal with the press."

The annual report was expanded to include a view of future potential by the firm's top executives as well as just a storey group. Charles Barker City was involved on the advertising side. And to cap it, the buy-out play, with its £500 millions tag, was saved for the cameras.

With the Debenhams share price by now up from 200p to 350p in three months, Charles Barker Lyons' Peter Bell chamber was not dissatisfied. "So far, there has been no bid at all... It is possible there will still be a bid, but it is a lot less likely now... It was a very long time in public relations. But it is good to know that someone in there is so keen to keep the rest of us so well informed."

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There are still great gaps in the amount of interpretation possible — we cannot yet sort out how many sample homes have just one channel and how many the five channel package, for instance. And there is a down-market thrust initially because so many of the first cable homes are on upgraded old relay systems.

There is no way of knowing how these households used television before they had the extra cable channels, and if the take-up grows as the cable operators hope and pray, the competition between future surveys and this one (taken in the four weeks to Easter) will presumably also become less valid.

But the JICAR operation, with ex-Radio Rentals director Peter Barker as chairman and holder of the rights and Survey Research Associates doing the data-gathering, seems intent on publishing more detail than some similar bodies. Given the commercial sensitivities of some of the operators involved this is particularly welcome.

It looks as though some intriguing material could emerge as the analysis becomes more refined. The data kept by the 10,000-plus respondents, for instance, monitors use of VCRs as well as broadcast and cable channels, and while it confirms the relatively low use of pre-recorded videos referred to elsewhere on this page, the researchers will be seeking evidence of one apparent quirk: given the decision between watching a cable movie while recording the BBC (say), or watching the live broadcast and taping the cable offering, subscribers seem to prefer recording the cable, in spite of the fact that the movie channels make a point out of showing everything several times anyway.

But it's early days yet. They may just be wanting to convince themselves they are getting value for money like the sales-pitch said they would.

## Media File....

THE BATTLE for Debenhams department store group tops up, and with it the role of the media in letting the combatants get at each other. Perhaps more to the point, in helping them get at the investors and other creators of sentiment on whom such crucial matters as the share price might depend. On which subject we can offer a rare insight into how the main protagonist has been trying to make sure it is seen in the most positive light.

It comes courtesy of the image-makers' trade paper, PR Week. This regularly runs a case study of some particularly knotty professional problem under the frank rubric Crisis PR. The most recent, just before Burton and Sir Terence Conran went public with their bid, was of Debenhams' media defence strategy, masterminded by the prominent City PR firm Charles Barker Lyons, with the televised announcement of the management's buy-out plan just the tip of a deliberately high-profile attack.

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Peter Fiddick  
Media Editor



NOBODY invited the video industry to become involved in British Film Year, to the annoyance of some of its members who point out that four and a half million tapes are rented each week in Britain and 60,000 cassettes sold. With 24 per cent of British households now believed to have a video recorder, it seems that films in Britain are viewed, more often than not, on the small screen.

But while the British film industry combats problems of poor service to customers, lack of investment and inadequate distribution, the video trade faces its own bugs — the worst of which is its image. In its more rabid moments, Fleet Street has tried to persuade us that kids spend most of their time watching Driller Killer on video, while rapists and

murderers are fuelled exclusively by video porn. Often singled out in the trade is the so-called "back street" video shop, the kind of place which might have been opened with somebody's redundancy money in the hope of cashing in on the yearned-for video boom. Piracy of cassettes has flourished among such outlets, who lack the capital to afford stocks of the official products, though increased penalties and tougher enforcement have reduced the quality of pirate tapes on the market from 60 per cent of the total a year ago to a still-hefty 20 per cent.

If, as Video Week's editor David Dalton says, the public frequently view the video dealer as "one down the line from a sex shop," this is undoubtedly one reason why 60 per cent of video recorders in

the home are used exclusively for time-shifting of broadcast programmes. It appears that many upright people simply won't set foot inside a video dealer's shop. Another factor is that the Video Recordings Act is still awaiting Parliamentary clarification, a situation which generates uncertainty — hardly encouraging for an industry still finding its feet.

The big distributors of films on cassette are having to grin and bear it. Contrary to popular belief, retailing movies on video has proved to be a licence to print money. Movies, it is generally agreed, are predominantly a rental commodity — rental accounts for 95 per cent of turnover.

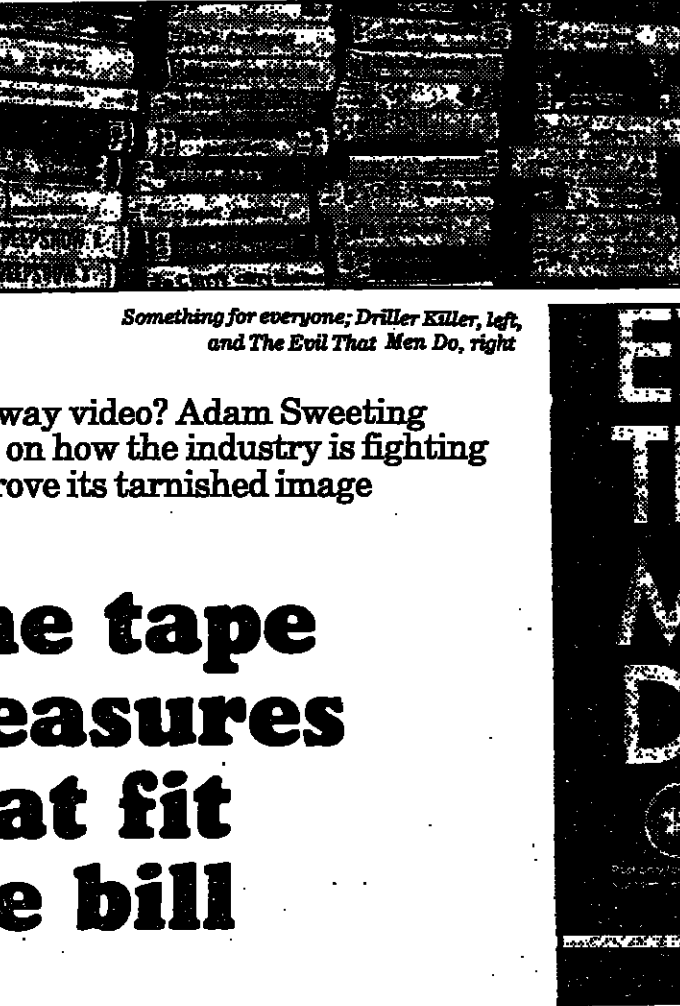
The passer-by might observe that it's no wonder few people buy cassettes of feature films when they retail

for £50. Distributors CIC made a lone attempt to lower prices by selling their block-buster titles to dealers at £13.50 instead of the industry norm of around £35 (though CIC have subsequently raised prices to £17.50). With retail prices thus down to around £20, CIC shifted an unprecedented 100,000 copies of Raiders of the Lost Ark, remarkable considering 20,000-30,000 copies sold is regarded as a success story.

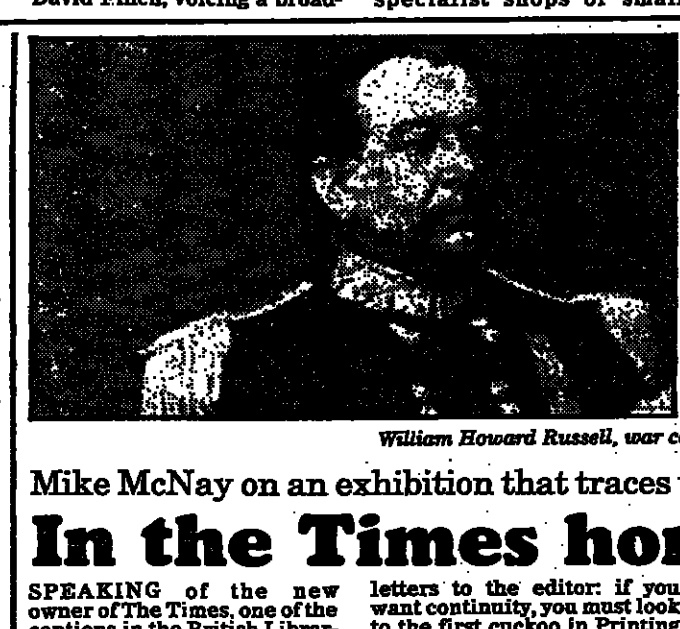
CIC also did well with such titles as Terms of Endearment, Flashdance and Trading Places at the lower price. In spite of this, other distributors have tended to try to push prices higher to secure what profit they can out of what is viewed as a finite market. "We're not convinced there is a sale market for films," says Thorn EMI's David Finch, voicing a broad-

ly-shared view that films are not "repeatable" enough by the nature to encourage anybody but diehard film buffs and video libraries to buy them at any price. Pop music on video, once extolled as the New Age of mass entertainment, has proved healthy if unspectacular. With an average retail price of around £20, music cassettes have proved more popular than many expected with a young audience, though video EPs with four or five tracks, and retailing with hi-fi sound at about £12 might eventually form the bulk of the market.

While Norman Abbott of the British Videogram Association is one of many who see 1983 as a year of rationalisation in which sleazy and inefficient video dealers go to the wall, with individual specialist shops or small



local chains catering shrewdly to customer requirements, it seems to be a lack of euphoria behind the counter. Mr. Russell Cohen runs KR Video in Rosebery Avenue, not far from this newspaper's offices. He thinks people are bored with watching videos. Though the market has levelled out after a steady decline over the last year or 18 months, he sees no sign of improvement. "I don't think the video industry as a whole is especially healthy," says Grant Enderby of Laser Video in Rosslyn Hill, London's longest-surviving specialist video shop. He'd like to see an end to the "wally element" among dealers, and would also like customers to appreciate that they can't always hire the cassette of their choice on the spur of the moment — to add a single cassette to his



3,600-strong library in VHS and Beta formats costs him £100. Laser is raising its rental charges to £2.50 per cassette for two nights, in line with the industry's bid to prevent the devaluing of the pre-recorded cassette as an entertainment medium. If Gary Shoefield at Warner Home Video insists that the video trade is healthy and that most dealers are professional, Thorn EMI's David Finch admits that if his company's only line of business was feature films on video, they'd be struggling. Norman Abbott at the BVA may have hit the right note when he points to a streamlining of the video industry, with 1983 a year of consolidation after a necessary breaking of 1984's meteoric growth. "Trends are sound," he pronounces. Coming soon — British Video Year?

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Derek Jameson on small-screen journalism

## View, what a scorcher

IT'S STRANGE how newspapers get all the knocks, while those of us who earn a crust in television collect a halo with our radio make the second we set foot in the van. This is based on the quaint notion that television is in living, moving, talking colour and the camera surely cannot tell a lie.

Once upon a time, in the days before someone discovered 144-point Bold headlines, people similarly believed: "It must be true, I read it in the paper." That mantle has now passed to the television screen, which explains why many a pop-star or politician who refuses to talk to the Daily Bugle is never shy about going into make-up ready to address the world.

Since I have a large boot firmly planted in both camps, it is time to straighten out a few misconceptions about these rival branches of the media. In television, it is the pictures that set the pace. No matter how important the story, the way in which it is projected will depend on what footage is available. The more pictures, the greater the opportunity for the reporter to say his piece as a voice over all those loving moving images.

Where pictures are available, television will stretch them to the utmost to give the reporter space, but there is a limit to how many dull, banal images they can put on the screen to accommodate the words.

A cameraman told me the other day that he had filmed Arthur Scargill, sometimes like 79 times in the past year, coming in and out of approximately the same building with approximately the same expression on his face. Ditto the other side because where goes ITN, there goes the BBC and vice versa. Since there are only two competitors in this game, they do each other's footsteps to make sure neither party secures an advantage. And if they don't get wallpaper, the reporter will be naked into the editing chamber.

To take a recent example, 25 Cambridge football supporters went down for 26 years at the Old Bailey last week for taking part in a blitzkrieg against Chelsea fans in February, 1982. Although the essential details were there in my bulletin, the viewer was left with a list of unanswered questions that the next day's newspaper could answer. Was this one gang, making a concerted attack? What motivated "The General," Leslie Murray, said to be the ring leader? Why Cambridge, of all places? And who ever heard of Cambridge United? No pictures, you see. So the storyline suffers.

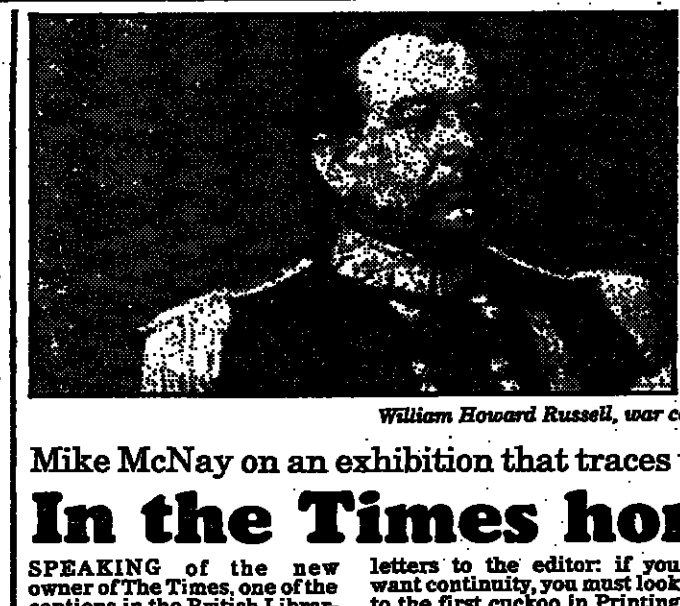
So television reporters start out on the same basis as their newspaper colleagues, but will never compete on detail and essential background unless they are given time and space to breathe in the picture straightjacket.

Inside the studios, even more difficult rules apply. Breakfast television, chat shows and other news-based programmes shot as "live" material earn prestige and instant exposure on everything from Japanese flower arranging to Wham's latest hit. They are fed a few sparse notes from researchers — usually lifted from newspapers — which they may be lucky enough to get on air as a rough script. Then it is a quick burst of questions and on to the next.

No wonder so many idols of the telly screen keep tripping up over daft questions. It isn't their fault. The newspaperman will stay with his subject for a day, a week, even a month if necessary. The television interviewer has to think in seconds.

The results can be unfortunate. I remember sitting in a regional television studio being asked my views on the green pound, a somewhat startling question since my presence had been requested as a tabloid newspaper editor. Naturally I waffled on about farmers, subsidies, featherbedding, Europe and all the rest of it. Like many another, I had no idea what was going on. The explanation came in the pub later. Apparently the control box had sent an urgent amendment whistling down the presenter's earpiece: "Hang on, that's the bloody editor, not the National Farmers' Union. Ask him about nudes."

That's showbiz, folks. Trouble is, they call it journalism.



Mike McNay on an exhibition that traces the history of a great newspaper

## In the Times honoured fashion

SPEAKING of the new owner of the Times, one of the captions in the British Library's bicentenary exhibition of the paper notes: "This whirlwind, while clearing debris from dusty corridors, could not proceed without causing great damage. Staff were dismissed, and the first shots were heard in a battle which was to rage far into the future. Who controlled the contents of a newspaper? The Editor or Proprietor? The front line was never to be defined."

How true, though the occasion for this caption was Lord Northcliffe's rescue of it from its slough of despond 20 years later just as William Haley and then Roy Thomson were to revive the paper after the appeasement years and the post-war period of narrow elitism. Revisionist history suggests that appeasement was not that bad — Dawson, a Times columnist airily wrote recently, "was a leader-writing journal. Maybe, but the evidence is that from the very accession to power of Adolf Hitler the leader — writing journal was censoring his Berlin correspondent's copy to avoid anything 'that was the

The whole brigade scarcely made one effective regiment, according to the numbers of continental armies; and yet it was all we could spare. As they passed towards the front, the Russians opened on them from the guns in the redoubts on the right, with volleys of musketry and rifles they swept proudly past glittering in the morning sun in all the pride and splendour of war. We could scarcely believe the evidence of our senses! Surely that handful of men are not going to charge an army in position? Alas! it was but too true — their desperate valour knew no bounds; and far,

least likely to offend Hitler," as one observer remarked in 1933 in a phrase to be echoed later in Geoffrey Dawson's infamous admission. The great years of the Times, in its first century under John Walter II, Barnes, and Delaney, are strikingly illustrated by the British Library: years when the paper hired its own sailing packet and trained its own carrier pigeons to fetch foreign intelligence, as it was called until quite recently, to Blackfriars. Russell's eye-witness report of the charge of the Light Brigade, reproduced in facsimile, is at least as affecting as Tennyson's stirring verse and was a good deal more politically effective. The Times pioneered, too, in its methods of production and, later, in its typography. It hired Stanley Morrison first as consultant designer and then to invent a whole new range of type, and through all the vicissitudes of the half century since the Times has never looked less than decent and at its best, magnificent. Two hundred years is illustrated with stereo plates, page

William Howard Russell, war correspondent, and, right, one of his famous despatches from the Crimea.

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allow the company to rest on the efforts of others. It wants to build a market for its cars in its own right: the objective is "Mediterranean in looks, German in character." Much of the company's publicity material bears a triple logo: VW, Audi, VW. It is a statement of feeling to walk around one of the factories to see what are clearly Polos and Audis coming off assembly lines to be inspected for quality by German specialists with Wolfsburg checklists.

The German company's interest in Seat will undoubtedly grow. At present the VWs and Audis coming out of the plant are not special and there are no joint companies. Some Passats are made, as VWs, to be sold in Spain and more than 50 per cent of the cars assembled at Pamplona are exported — though not to West Germany! In fact, at current rates, about 50 per cent of Seat's output is of Volkswagen.

An announcement of closer links if not an actual takeover by VW-Audi is expected next year. It is probable, however — or, in other words, the grapevine gossip, is that VW will, if Seat's finances can be sorted out, take 51 per cent of the company and control entire production of Polos to Spain. The plans go much beyond that with Seat gearing up to build a slightly smaller car, probably a Polo from the 1989 model year.

A deal with Seat makes much sense for VW, giving it an entry to a fickle market in the south of Europe, and a sales outlet. Little interest to a major volume producer... it is a well trodden path — Peugeot, Citroën, Renault are well established through the route. It is in line with Ford's decision to establish a plant there and build Fiats.

most of which are exported, and that of GM General Motors. Massé believes that their greenfield site behind their greenfield Novas / Corsas for Europe.

Seat's development programme is based on four centres: the biggest output comes from the 100 km<sup>2</sup> free zone of the port of Barcelona, a few yards from the docks and flanked by railway sidings. Most of the component suppliers are within 10 miles of the site. About 1,500 cars, seven models in all, come off the production lines each day. Components come from Prat de Llobregat, 10 miles from the city and the Martorell Centre, twenty miles away houses the research and development facilities.

But perhaps the most modern plant is that at Pamplona, 260 miles away in the province of Navarra, and claimed to be the most modern assembly plant in Europe and much changed from the first automobile assembly on the site when Blythman and Sons of Autubi (it stood for Automóviles, Turismo Hispanico Ingles, by the way) operation which was never a total success and faced closure in 1975 when Seat took over "in order to alleviate social problems that would have ensued upon the closure of the plant. What is true is that mass keeping jobs at any price."

It is a first class site with good communications and since the SL days its capacity has grown to 150,000 a year. It is a fully automatic, the capacity is 400 cars a day from just under two thousand employees though output was 11,000 in 1975. The 325 cc Polo Classic had the last for the end of the year is 365. That compares with 1,500 cars a

Last week in Wales a similar incident involved me in emergency action on a wet road due to someone else's failure to drive to a sensible standard. This time the offending vehicle bore the slogan, "We Know Jesus Loves Us" and, across the rear in big letters, "Oh, Jesus Loves You Too."

Am I alone in thinking that as motoring is an activity where human error is rampant the open claims of religion are

Going to be blessed does however involve more effort and therefore commitment than putting up a sticker. Even in Protestant and marginally non-superstitious Britain, there are those whose road

And what, in the name of Heaven, is supposed to be my response when I see a sticker saying "Caution. Show Dogs in Transit." More so when it's matched by an anti-nuclear rosette: invariably in Welsh or Breton.

[illegible]

Venus fades from magnitude -4.4 to -4.2 and recedes from 9 million to 127 million km, but remains visible in the morning twilight in our eastern morning twilight, climbing in altitude at sunrise from 12 to 19 degrees during the month. Venus comes to its greatest diameter from 28 to 5 seconds as its disk changes from 42 per cent to 58 per cent sunlit, being 50 per cent sunlit (like the Moon at last quarter) on June 12. Venus attains its greatest angular distance of 4 degrees west of the Sun on June 12.

Following superior conjunction on the far side of the Sun on June 7, Mercury joins Mars deep in the bright northwestern twilight. Mars is too faint to be seen, while Mercury is rather brighter but

**Diary**

All times are B.S.T.

Jun 1 23h Saturn 3 deg N of Moon.  
Jun 3 05h Full Moon.  
Jun 3 11h Uranus 2 deg N

Jun 4	14h	Neptune	5 deg N	Moon.
Jun 5	09h	Jupiter	stationary.	Moon.
Jun 6	20h	Uranus	in opposition.	
Jun 7	15h	Mercury	in superior	
Jun 7	17h	Jupiter	5 deg N	conjunction.

Jun 10 09h Moon at last quarter  
 Jun 12 23h Venus at greatest elongation W. (4 degrees)  
 Jun 14 12h Venus 1.9 deg S of Moon.

Jun 18 13h	New Moon.
Jun 21 11.44	Summer solstice.
Jun 23 20h	Neptune at opposition.
Jun 25 20h	Moon at first quarter.
Jun 26 03h	Mercury 5 deg S of Pollux.
Jun 29 06h	Saturn 3 deg N of

Moon.  
 Jun 30 19h Uranus 2 deg N o  
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 Jul 1 23h Neptune 5 deg N o  
 Moon.

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RDIAN**







**RUGBY LEAGUE:** Canterbury defeated St Helens 30-24 at Christchurch yesterday in the first match of the English club's tour of New Zealand. The game was locked at 24-24 when the Canterbury captain, David Field scored a try almost on full time.











BBC-1

6 00 Ceefax AM. 6 50 Breakfast Time. 9 20 Bonanza. 10 10 Chingilly. 10 25 Play School. 10 45 Film: Lassie Come Home. 1943 sentiment with Roddy McDowall. Donald Crisp. Elizabeth Taylor. 12 10 pm King Elephant. 1 40 News; weather news.

1 45 GRANDSTAND including racing from Cheltenham (2 30; 3 30; 4 30) and golf - PGA Championship final round from Westworth (2 10; 2 45; 3 20); final score (9 0).

5 10 DISNEY TIME. Les Dennis and Dustin Gee introduce the traditional holiday package of clips from Disney favourites, including Dumbo, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, plus the new Return To Oz.

6 00 NEWS; Weather News; sport; regional news.



Lord Denning comes out of retirement for...

6 20 JIMMY FIX HIS TENTH BIRTHDAY. Master fixer J. Savile celebrates a decade of magic wand waving in the company of some fulfilled fans, including the girl on the dolphin who had it fixed for her first.

7 00 WOGAN. Spare a thought for poor Tel, having to slave through yet another bank holiday in the interests of overtime... and what's more, in the company of Catherine Bach from The Dukes of Hazzard, comedian Brendan Grace, Kit Williams of Golden Hare fame, and the Five Young Cannibals, who should finish off the show quite nicely.

7 35 SILVER BEARS. Ivan Passer's convoluted comedy thriller about international financial chicanery has some bankable names upfront: Michael Caine, as the agent for Las Vegas Syndicate boss Martin Balsam, who's despatched to Switzerland to launder some loot; Louis Jourdan, as his impetuous aristocratic contact, plus Stephanie Audran, Cybill Shepherd, David Warner. Made in 1977.

9 25 NEWS; Weather News.

9 40 NIGHT OF 100 STARS. A kind of Academy Award ceremony crossed with a Royal Variety Show, this entertainment spectacular, recorded at New York's Radio City Music Hall last February, called on the best showbiz to do its bit for charity. Edited highlights, introduced by Barry Norman, include a song and dance duo by Petula Clarke and Placido Domingo, a tap routine by hoofers Dick Van Dyke, Gregory Hines and Christopher Walken; plus George Burns, Lena Horne, Kenny Rogers and the Dallas mob. 11 45 Weather; close.

BBC-2

6 55-7 00 pm Open University. 9 0 Pages from Ceefax. 10 0 You and Me. 10 14 Pages from Ceefax.

2 05 ORPHAN TRAIN. Jill Eikenberry plays dedicated young social worker taking a train load of slum children to a new life in the mid-West, c1850, in well crafted tearjerker, made-for-TV in 1979, with Kevin Dobson.

4 20 MOTOR 100. Noel Edmonds presents the first of two visits (more on Wednesday) to the Silverstone festival celebrating 100 years of motoring.

5 10 NAMES AND GAMES. Another (repeated) holiday outing to Kempton Park, where Simon Bates introduces the celebrity teams engaged in sporting stunts for charity.

6 00 MOVIE: THE SILENT LOVERS - Garbo and Gilbert. Kristina Wayborn and Barry Bostwick play the screen idols, in the re-run account of their affair dramatised from Garson Kanin's novel.

7 25 ENTERTAINMENT SWITZERLAND. Our Man in Montreaux, Jonathan King, sends back another despatch from the recent Golden Rose Festival, singling out some particularly bizarre examples of TV light entertainment.

8 30 IT'S NOT CRICKET. Another preview for the forthcoming drama Bodyline.

8 35 TANGLEWOOD. So You Want To Be A Conductor. Andre Previn did, and so did Simon Rattle - but neither of them succeeded in gaining one of the keenly contested places at the famous Massachusetts music centre. They were the exceptions that proved the rule, though, and this second film on Tanglewood lists some of the international names who did get a chance to develop their talent in this extraordinary summer house. Bernstein, Osawa, Abbado, Mazel, Mehta. It sits in, too, on the masterclasses at which the international names of tomorrow learn to refine their skills under the greatest teachers in the world.

9 25 DEATH IN VENICE. Luchino Visconti's ravishing, haunting screen version of Thomas Mann's novel, perfectly evoking the deadly beauty of the turn-of-the-century grappled by plague, with Dirk Bogarde as the wily, weary artist obsessed with his life, and which he now finds embodied in a young boy (Bjorn Andresen) staying at his hotel. Made in 1971.

11 30 INTERNATIONAL GOLF. Highlights of today's final round in the PGA Championship at Westworth. 12 5 Weather; close.

ITV London

7 00 Good Morning Britain - Wide Awake Club Bank Holiday Special. 9 25 Version Street. 10 25 Wait Disney Presents. 10 35 Film: Robinson Crusoe. 1972 Russian version with Leonid Duryav. Franki Kuznetsov. 12 0 Junior Gymnast of the Year. 1 0 pm News.

1 5 RANK HOLIDAY SPORT SPECIAL including international golf - Memorial Tournament from Jack Nicklaus' Ohio course (1 10); sports desk with lunchtime cricket scores (2 40); racing from Sandown and Redcar (2 10); boxing - profile of Commonwealth welterweight champion Sylvester Muir (3 45); ice skating from Nottingham (4 40); results (4 45).

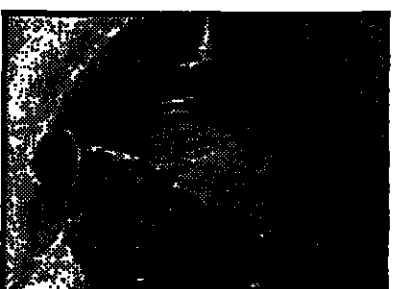
5 00 NEWS; weather.

5 5 THE MAGIC OF DAVID COPPERFIELD. Spectacular trickery from the master US illusionist, including some liberty-taking with the famed statue.

6 00 KNIGHT RIDER. Good Day At White Rock. Re-run crusading with the high tech hero (David Hasselhoff), coming to the rescue of a distressed damsel and getting locked up for his pains.

7 00 ROLL OVER BERTHOVEN. Final instalment of the song writing sitcom, with Liza Goddard as Belinda, now facing parental disapproval over the pill, and public recognition on Top Of The Pops. Oracle sub-titles.

7 30 CORONATION STREET. Oracle sub-titles.



8 00 THE BENNY HILL SHOW. Benny and the gang with the usual holiday frolics, including a carve-up of Carmen.

9 00 NEWS; weather.

9 15 ALLIGATOR. Robert Forster, Robin Riker lead this tongue-in-cheek horror yarn, made in 1980, and based on the folk myth of the reptilian experts that are supposed to thrive in city sewers. This one is a monster, with a taste for man-sized snacks...

11 0 DIANA ROSS - FOR ONE AND ALL. The sexy chanteuse recorded in concert in New York's Central Park in 1983, with Endless Love, Reflections, Pieces Of Ice among the numbers.

12 15 NIGHT THOUGHTS with the Bishop of Durham. Close.

Channel 4

2 25 pm Film: With a Song in My Heart. 1932 biopic of singer Jane Froman with Susan Hayward, Rory Calhoun. 4 30 Television Scramble. 5 0 Alice.

5 30 FANNY WATERMAN'S PIANO PROGRESS. 1. Starting a repeat showing of the televised lessons conducted by the celebrated pianist and teacher, working with her advanced students as well as eight-year-old beginner Sally.

6 0 WHERE IN THE WORLD. Ray Alan hosts another round of the travel quiz.

6 30 WHEELTRACKS. How will motorists of the future buy their new cars? This week's edition looks, too, at an anti-lock brake system for all, and asks whether a turbo is just a status symbol. News summary; weather.

7 0 THE GAY BYRNE SPECIAL. Another selected edition of Ireland's top chat show, of particular interest to anyone in the business of restoring antiques.

8 0 BROOKSIDE.

8 30 MAN ABOUT THE HOUSE. Carry Me Back to Old Southampton. Starting a new batch of repeats from the mid-seventies sitcom, with Richard O'Sullivan, Paula Wilcox, Sally Thomsett as the three flat sharers - now likely to be reduced to two, with Robin apparently obliged to fly the nest.

9 0 END OF EMPIRE. Iran. Latest programme in Granada's history examines the quasi-imperial relationship that prevailed between Britain and Iran in the late 1940s - a mutually convenient arrangement that was threatened by incoming Mohammed Mossadeq's determination to free his country from foreign control. The answer was a coup, planned by Britain with American aid, and tonight those involved talk openly for the first time about the plot that toppled Mossadeq and restored the full authority of the Shah.

10 0 NEWHART. Bob Newhart leads the last episode of the imported sitcom.

10 30 THE ELEVENTH HOUR. Fords on Water. Made, says director Barry Bliss, "to answer the pessimism that prevails in certain liberal circles, a view of the working class in defeat" his avant garde 1983 movie follows the odd and often funny exploits of a pair of unlikely fellow travellers - one white, one black, both unemployed but unbowed - a chilling Britain of the imminent future.

11 55 Close.

Radio 1

6 00 am Adrian John. 8 0 Mike Read. 10 0 Simon Bates. 12 0 Gary Davies. 2 0 pm Steve Wright: Family Fun Day Out. 2 30 Newsweek. 3 00 Brian Auger & The Trinity. 4 00 Bryan Ferry. 5 00 Bruno Brookes. 7 00 Janice Long. 10 0-12 00 Andy Kershaw.

Radio 2

6 00 am Colin Berry. 8 0 Ray Moore. 8 50 Ken Bruce. 10 30 David Hamilton. 12 30 pm The Gramercy Place Special. 1 00 David Jacobs. 2 00 Spring Bank Holiday - Summer Sounds. 3 00 The Osmond Brothers and Ray Stevens. 7 00 Sing Somewhere. 8 00 Alan Dell. Dance Band Days. Big Band Era. 9 00 Humphrey Lyttelton. 10 00 Space Force. 10 30 Monday Movie Quiz. 11 00 Folk. 11 00-12 00 Bill Russell. 3 00-4 00 Folk on 2.

Radio 3

6 55 Weather. 7 00 News: Morning Concert. 8 00 News: This Week's Composer. Jean-Philippe Rameau. Excerpts from Le Temple de la gloire, performed by La Grande Ecurie de la Chambre du Roy and Claude Malgoire. 10 00 Piano Variations by Mozart (Oscar Dummer, Pöbel and Meint) and Brahms (Heime by Handel). James Solym. 10 45 Bach Cantatas 1724 No. 173 - Erhebetes Fleisch und Blut. London Bach Society Choir and Baroque Orchestra. 11 00 Concert of French Music. Debussy: Danse sacree et danse infernale. Ravel: Chansons madecasses. Francaix: Divertissement. Poulenc: Le bal masqué. Nash Ensemble, Thomas Allen. 12 00 Ono P.O. Mariss Vansons. Grieg: Four Norwegian Dances. Nielsen: Violin Concerto (Arve Tellefsen). 1 00 News: Shostakovich: Symphony No. 5. Grieg: Norwegian melodies. 2 00 Music Weekly. 2 45 New Records. Copland: Latin American Sketches (Mexico City P.O. Bach: Machaut: Gais et Jolis. Samours ne fait (Boston Camera). Cohen: Mozart: Adagio in E. St Paul Cathedral. 3 00 News. 3 15 Piano Concerto (Tedd Jostelson/LSO/Schenck). Gershwin: Rhapsody in Blue. 4 00 News. 4 15 News. 4 30 News. 4 45 News. 4 55 News. 5 00 News. 5 15 News. 5 30 News. 5 45 News. 5 55 News. 6 00 News. 6 15 News. 6 30 News. 6 45 News. 6 55 News. 7 00 News. 7 15 News. 7 30 News. 7 45 News. 7 55 News. 8 00 News. 8 15 News. 8 30 News. 8 45 News. 8 55 News. 9 00 News. 9 15 News. 9 30 News. 9 45 News. 9 55 News. 10 00 News. 10 15 News. 10 30 News. 10 45 News. 10 55 News. 11 00 News. 11 15 News. 11 30 News. 11 45 News. 11 55 News. 12 00 News. 12 15 News. 12 30 News. 12 45 News. 12 55 News. 1 00 News. 1 15 News. 1 30 News. 1 45 News. 1 55 News. 2 00 News. 2 15 News. 2 30 News. 2 45 News. 2 55 News. 3 00 News. 3 15 News. 3 30 News. 3 45 News. 3 55 News. 4 00 News. 4 15 News. 4 30 News. 4 45 News. 4 55 News. 5 00 News. 5 15 News. 5 30 News. 5 45 News. 5 55 News. 6 00 News. 6 15 News. 6 30 News. 6 45 News. 6 55 News. 7 00 News. 7 15 News. 7 30 News. 7 45 News. 7 55 News. 8 00 News. 8 15 News. 8 30 News. 8 45 News. 8 55 News. 9 00 News. 9 15 News. 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